

MEDIAEVAL JAINISM

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Gomaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa

MEDIAEVAL JAINISM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

BY

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PREFACE

When we met at Hampe (Vijayanagara) in December 1936 to commemorate the (traditional) date of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire, a few well-wishers desired that I should undertake the study of the Jainas under the mediæval Hindu monarchs. I agreed to their proposal but it was only some months later that I could give the subject a concrete shape. Only two scholars deserve special mention in regard to the history of the Jainas in southern India—Mr. M. S. Ramaswami and Mr. Seshagiri Rao, whose excellent essays I have utilized in some places in my work. But I have followed an altogether new line of enquiry. Jainism is studied here from a non-religious standpoint ; and the conspicuous part played by all sections of the people—kings, feudatories, nobles, priests, citizens, and women—is described with the aid of contemporary historical records. It will be seen from the following pages that the connecting link in the history of pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara Jainism was the great Vijayanagara House. And so far as the religion itself is concerned, we may note that far from being a bundle of metaphysical beliefs, it was a faith that added in a large measure to the material prosperity of the land. It was not my intention to exhaust all the aspects of the subject. On the other hand, I have deliberately concentrated on some particular phases of the question, leaving others to those who may care to work on them.

Notwithstanding many limitations, it is pleasing to observe that the old Jaina spirit of helping the cause of learning is

still strong among some Jainas. This it was which has made two generous and kind-hearted Jaina gentlemen share a substantial part of the expenses of the work. In the true Jaina manner, they wish to remain anonymous. To them I wish to acknowledge herewith my profound obligation for their generous aid. I am equally grateful to Mr. M. N. Kulkarni of the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, but for whose kindness, promptness, and liberality, I am afraid this work would not have been printed so soon at all.

The Index has been prepared by my younger brother Mr. G. N. Saletore, M.A., who, in spite of heavy post-graduate studies, has kindly come to my rescue.

July the 14th, 1938.
Purandharebagh, B. A. S.
Poona 2.

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श्रीमत्परमगम्भीरस्याद्वादामोघलाञ्छनम्
जीयात् त्रैलोक्यानाथस्य शासनं जिनशासनम्

May the doctrine of Jina be victorious—the doctrine of the Lord of the three worlds, the unfailing characteristic of which is the glorious and most profound *syād vāda* !

THE KARNĀṬAKA COUNTRY

Ā jaḷa-nidhi-pariveṣṭisid ā Jambūdvīpa madhyadoḷ Mēru-nagaṃ rājipud-endesag amarasamājade-sura-dhēnu-dēvataru-pañcakadiṃ ā-Mērugiriya teṅkaṇa-dikkinoḷu-dharma-bhūmi-Bharatakhaṇḍam-irppud adaroḷ-atiramaṇīyamāda-nānā-deśam-uṇṭ-ā-deśadoḷu Jina-dharma-āvāsav-ādatt amaḷa vinayad āgārav ādattu Padmāsanirppa-ā-sadmav-ādatt ativiśada-yaśo-dhāmav ādattu vidyā-dhana-janma-sthānav-ādatt asama-taraḷa-gambhīra-sad-gēhav-ādatt enisalk int-uḷḷa nānā-mahimeyoḷ esugaṃ cāru-Karnāṭa-dēśamaṃ.

(By its roaring waves and dashing spray proclaiming that it had mountains and pearls was the ocean surrounding Jambū-dvīpa, in the middle of which was mount Meru, south of which was the land of *dharma* Bharata-khaṇḍa. Among the many beautiful countries it contained, an abode of the Jina *dharma*, a mine of good discipline, like the dwelling of Padmāsana (Brahmā), having acquired great fame, the birth-place of learning and wealth, the home of unequalled splendid earnestness, thus distinguished in many ways was the lovely Karnāṭa country.)

Epigraphia Carnatica, VIII. Kuppaṭūr stone inscription styled Sb. 261, dated A.D. 1408, pp. 41, 107 (text). See p. 309 of this work.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Importance and nature of the subject—Introduction of Jainism into south and west India.

THE history of mediæval Jainism in southern and western India, especially in the famous Empire of Vijayanagara, can be best understood only when it is studied in relation to the activities of its votaries in the ages preceding the rise of the sons of Sangama. It is essentially the history of a sect which having sought shelter in Karnāṭaka from a grave calamity that had overtaken it in its own home in the north, rose to unrivalled brilliance in the land of its adoption not only in the fields of letters, arts, and religion but in the domain of politics as well. At the hands of writers on Indian history, however, the influence which this profound faith cast in the south has not received the attention it has deserved.[1] Indeed, it may be said

1. One finds little about this subject in most of the modern works dealing with the history and religions of India. *The Cambridge History of India*, I, for example, has only a few lines on this question : pp. 166-167. Other writers like Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, and C. Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer* (revised edition, Bangalore), have nothing more than the few well known facts to relate.

without any exaggeration that this subject has been almost ignored by historians of India. It is our purpose, therefore, to delineate in brief such of the important facts which are available in the numerous epigraphic records and literature of Karnāṭaka, the Telugu and Tamil lands, and which give us an idea of the remarkable contribution Jainism made to the stability and success of many kingdoms and notably of that most magnificent product of mediæval Hindu statesmanship—the Empire of Vijayanagara.

But it is necessary to bear in mind here a few considerations in regard to the subject before us. In the first place, while it is undoubtedly true that, as will be pointed out in the course of this treatise, Jainism claimed great antiquity in certain parts of southern India, where it made perceptible progress for some time, it always reckoned Karnāṭaka as its home where both during the days of its highest splendour as well as in the period of its comparative insignificance, it never failed to receive the warmest hospitality and the sincerest devotion from the people. Hence the history of Jainism in southern India is primarily the history of that religion in Karnāṭaka. This is the reason why, while studying the annals of Jainism under Vijayanagara, which was till the days of the famous Āravīḍu family thoroughly Karnāṭaka in origin and culture, we should pay due attention to the part played by the followers of the Jina *dharma* in moulding the destiny of western and southern India in the pre-Vijayanagara days. We have, therefore, to acquaint ourselves with the facts relating to the advent of that religion into Karnāṭaka, and the circumstances which led to its being a most potent factor in the history of western India till the fourteenth century A.D., before we deal with its progress and decay in the Vijayanagara Empire. This course of study will explain the widespread and abiding influence

which Jainism had in the land, and at the same time enable us to understand how it functioned throughout the history of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara.

The advent of Jainism into Karnāṭaka, and, therefore, into southern India, is connected with the immigration of Jainas under their celebrated leader Bhadrabāhu, the last of the great *śrutakevalis,* and his disciple the Mauryan Emperor Candragupta. Southern tradition, corroborated by literary and epigraphic evidence, relates that Bhadrabāhu after predicting a twelve years' famine and drought in the north, led the migration of the Jaina *sangha* to the south. He was accompanied by Candragupta Maurya. On reaching Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Bhadrabāhu, perceiving that his end was drawing near, ordered the *sangha* to proceed on its way, and himself remained on the smaller hill called Kalbappu, Kaṭavapra, Cikka Beṭṭa, at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, where he was tended till his last moments by his royal disciple. The latter survived his teacher by twelve years, which were spent in penance on the hill, and then died there himself.[1]

Notwithstanding a few discrepancies between the traditional account of the migration and that left to us by early Jaina writers, it may be taken as an undisputed fact that the Jainas migrated to the fertile regions of Karnāṭaka in the days of the first Gaṇadhara Bhadrabāhu whose death, according to all Jaina authors from Hemacandra down to the most modern scholiast, took place in 170 A.V. or B.C. 297.[2]

1. Charpentier discredits the account of the Digambaras and asserts that Bhadrabāhu retired to Nepāl in order to pass the remainder of his life in penance, leaving the succession to Sthūlabhadra, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu's own contemporary the high-priest Sambhūtavijaya. *Cam. His. of India,* I, p. 165.

2. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra,* Intr., p. 13.

We owe this definiteness in regard to the Jaina migration to Karnāṭaka to the researches of the late Mr. B. L. Rice and the late *Prāktana Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa Mahāmahopādhyāya* R. Narasimhācārya. On the strength of the inscriptions on the summit of Candragiri itself and elsewhere, the writings of early Jaina writers like Hariṣeṇa (A. D. 931), and mediæval and later writers like Ratnanandi (*circa* A. D. 1450), Cidānandakavi (A.D. 1680), and Devacandra (A.D. 1838), these scholars have shown that credence may certainly be given to the tradition of the migration of the Jainas to the south under the leadership of the fifth and the last of the great *śrutakevalis* Bhadrabāhu and his royal disciple.[1]

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 2-10; Narasimhācārya, *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa*, pp. 36-40. Smith accepted this tradition. *Oxford History of India*, pp. 75-76. Fleet tried to maintain that this Jaina tradition had no historical basis. *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, p. 156; *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, pp. 22-24, 339; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1909*, p. 23; *ibid for 1911*, p. 816. But both Rice and Narasimhācārya have successfully proved that Fleet's contention was wrong. *My. and Coorg*, p. 7, n. (1); *Ins. Śr. Bel.*, Intr., p. 40, Dr. Shama Sastry, while squaring some synchronisms with the initial year of the Gupta era, *viz.*, A. D. 200-201,—which, according to him, is the correct date, that given by Dr. Fleet, *viz.*, A. D. 319-20 being wrong —opines that it was Bhadrabāhu III, and Candragupta II, who came to Kalbappu. (*Mysore Archæological Report for 1923*, p. 23).

CHAPTER II.

ROYAL BENEVOLENCE

Royal patronage: Under the Gangas: The Ganga kingdom a creation of the Jaina sage Simhanandi—the story in connection with that sage and Mādhava Konguṇivarmā I described and examined—Avinīta I—Durvinīta—Śivamāra I—Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa Pṛthvikonguṇivarmā II——Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa—Prince Duggamāra—Nītimārga I—Mārasimha Guttiya Ganga—Nītimārga, Rācamalla III—Rakkasaganga, Rācamalla, IV. The Kadamba patronage: Kākusthavarmā — Mṛgeśavarmā — Ravivarmā — Harivarmā—Devavarmā. Rāṣṭrakūṭa patronage: Dantidurga, Khaḍgāvaloka—Govinda III Prabhūtavarṣa—Kambha, Raṇāvaloka—Amoghavarṣa I Nṛpatunga—Kṛṣṇa II—Kṛṣṇa III—Indra IV. Western Cālukya patrons: Tailapadeva II—Jayasimha III—The great men in the age of this ruler: Vādirāja—An account of Vādirāja—his rival Vādi Rudragaṇa Lākulīśa Paṇḍita—Other great Jaina teachers of this period identified—Patronage by the Cālukya monarchs continued: Someśvara I Trailokyamalla—A great Jaina teacher of his time: Vādībhasimha Ajitasena—Vikramāditya VI. Hoysala patrons: The Hoysala kingdom another Jaina creation—Relation between the Hoysalas and their predecessors the Western Cālukyas—Jainism as the connecting link between the Hoysala and the Vijayanagara

kingdoms—The birth-place of the Hoysalas a centre of Jainism—The story of the Jaina *guru* Sudatta who helped Sala to build a kingdom critically examined—Identification of Sudatta with the help of a contemporary stone epigraph—Digression into the early history of the Hoysala family—Vinayāditya II and his Jaina *guru* Śāntideva—Ereyanga and the sage Gopanandi—Ballāḷa I—Viṣṇuvardhana—Narasimha I Ballāḷa II—Narasimha III—Rāmanātha.

FROM a fugitive faith, Jainism became gradually the dominant religion of Karnāṭaka ; and for nearly twelve centuries (second century A.D. till the thirteenth century) it guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful and well known Karnāṭaka royal families. This particular aspect of Jainism deserves a passing explanation. That a religion which had made Karnāṭaka its abode only a few generations before its great rival Buddhism had cast its sway practically over the same area,[1] should have, in spite of the opposition it met from rival faiths, and notably from the rejuvenated forms of Hinduism, persisted to do a great deal of material and spiritual good to the country is, indeed, most remarkable, especially when we remember that its votaries did not show any signs of increasing in numbers and its royal patrons, particularly in the thirteenth century A.D. and after, did not always shower on it the patronage it had received in the early centuries of the Christian era. But this success of Jainism for over eleven centuries is to be attributed not

1. The various Edicts of Aśoka, not to mention other important sources, are in themselves sufficient proof to demonstrate that Buddhism had taken deep roots in Karnāṭaka in the Mauryan age. This question will be discussed by me in a separate dissertation. In the meanwhile read Rice, *My & Coorg.*, pp 3-14 ; Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, pp. 295-298.

merely to its inherent vitality, but also to other causes which transformed it from a mere tissue of teachings into a live force in Karnāṭaka politics. Foremost among these causes is that relating to the new outlook Jaina leaders took on political life. They ceased to be merely exponents of dogmas; they turned themselves into creators of kingdoms. It may not be too much to say that Jainism in the pre-Vijayanagara days was an example of a religion which showed, at least so far as Karnāṭaka was concerned, that religious tenets were to be subordinated to political exigencies when the question of rejuvenating life in the country was at stake. The practical effect of such a changed angle of vision on the part of the great Jaina teachers of the early centuries was profound. Four celebrated royal families in succession came forward as champions of Jainism; and what the monarchs did, their minister-generals, feudatories, and commercial magnates imitated. Jainism, in short, received universal patronage from all ranks of people. And the Jaina leaders in turn reciprocated the trust and reverence which the princes and people reposed in them by contributing in a large measure to the philosophy, literature, and arts of the country.

The earliest political creation of the Jina *dharma* was the Ganga kingdom of the south. The Gangas were a family of considerable antiquity. They belonged to the Ikṣvāku race and the Kāṇvāyana *gotra*. Their early history in the north or north-east prior to their advent in the south does not concern us here. Somewhere in the second century A.D.[1] they

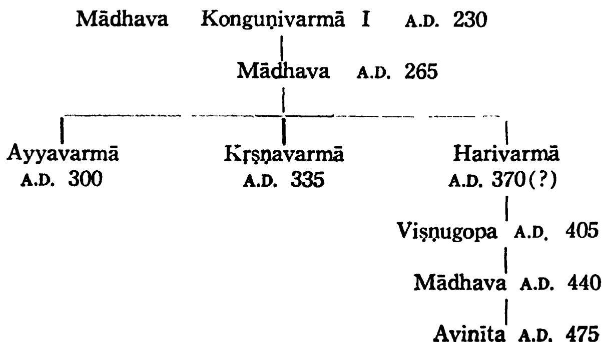
1. The chronology of the Ganges is far from being settled. Of the scholars who have attempted to fix it,—Fleet, Rice, Narasimhacarya, Shama Sastry, and Govinda Pai,—the attempts of Fleet have to be abandoned, as he unfortunately took an assailable stand concerning the genuineness of many of the Ganga records. Rice placed Konguṇivarmā I in the end of the second

branched off in the southerly direction. Two princes of the Ganga family came to a particular city in the south, thereby opening a new age in the history of the country. For here

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century A.D (*My. & Coorg.*, pp. 32, 49). Although the dates given by him to some of the later Ganga rulers, *e.g.*, Durvinīta whom he placed in A.D. 482-517...(*Ibid*, p. 49), as pointed out by Narasimhacarya, were wrong (*Mysore Archæological Report for 1921*, p. 28, where Narasimhacarya gives A.D. 605-650 as the dates of this ruler), yet we may accept, on the whole, the age (second century A. D.) given to the first historical figure in the Ganga history by Rice as correct.

The following will, for the present, be enough to prove that Rice's calculations were valid. One of the Ganga kings whose date of coronation was fixed satisfactorily by Dr. Shama Sastry is king Avinīta. This ruler was anointed to the throne while a boy in A. D. 475 (*M. A. R. for 1924*, p. 18). With this date we shall argue backwards in order to fix the age of Konguṇivarmā I. Between king Avinīta and Konguṇivarmā I there were at least six monarchs—Mādhava, Kiriya (styled by Rice Madhava II), Harivarmā, and his elder brothers Ayyavarmā and Kṛṣṇavarmā, his son Viṣṇugopa, followed by, according to Rice, Pṛthvīganga, and then Mādhava II (called by Rice Mādhava III). (Rice, *ibid.*, p. 49; *M. A. R. for 1924*, p. 17). Suppose we allot thirty-five years to every one of these, we reach at the following dates :—



in this city was effected the first political success of Jainism, when a renowned Jaina *guru* initiated one of them into the *syād vāda* doctrine, and, as numerous epigraphs assert, "gave them a kingdom."

The account of the victory which Jainism thus won is not given in any contemporary epigraph either of that celebrated Jaina *guru* or of his royal protégé. But several later records both of the Gangas and of the other royal families and old Jaina works clearly and unanimously give the story thereby

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Now the Tamil Chronicle *Kongudeśa-rājakkaḷ* gives A.D. 189 as the date for the king Konguṇivarmā I. It asserts that he reigned for fifty-one years. (Rice, *ibid.*, p. 32). If we take A.D. 189 as the initial year of that ruler, it may be maintained that he ruled from A. D. 189 till A. D. 250. The date A. D. 230 which we have given for that king on the basis of the date A.D. 475 given to king Avinīta, would, then, fit in quite well within his reign. And Mr. Govinda Pai's dates *circa* A.D. 250-A.D. 283 given to Konguṇivarmā I (*Karnataka Historical Review*, II, No. 1, p. 29) would be very near the correct date. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao's dates for the same ruler, A.D. 340-A.D.-400, (*The Gangas of Talkad*, pp. xi, 22) are far too arbitrary to be accepted. Narasimhacarya's discovery of many genuine Ganga records is of the greatest importance in this connection (*M. A. R. for 1921*, p. 17 ff.). But the dates A.D. 605-650 given by him to king Durvinīta—no doubt on a well reasoned contemporaneity of that ruler with the famous poet Bhāravi—seem to be rather unacceptable. (*M.A.R. for 1921*, p. 28). For if Dr. Shama Sastry is right in assuming that king Avinīta was anointed to the throne in A.D. 475, it cannot be that Avinīta's son and successor Durvinīta came to the throne in A.D. 605! Dr. Sastry has shown that the date A.D. 478 given to Durvinīta by Rice is correct. (*M.A.R. for 1923*, p. 27). Pending a detailed study of the Gangas, I tentatively accept Rice's chronology as correct in the main. On the Kadamba-Ganga synchronisms in the reign of king Avinīta, read Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, pp. 55-59.

leaving no doubt in our minds concerning its veracity. The Ganga ruler who thus secured a kingdom was called Koṅguṇivarmā I, while his Jaina preceptor was Simhanandi Ācārya. One of the earliest royal documents which hints at the aid received by the first historical figure in the Ganga genealogy, is the Kodunjeruvu grant of king Avinīta (accession A.D. 475). This record merely states that the illustrious Koṅguṇivarmā was "famous for his valour and strength exhibited in rending asunder a pillar of stone with a single stroke of his sword."[1]

Neither in the above record nor in the next one styled the Bedirūr grant of king Bhūvikrama, Śrīvallabha, and dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-5), is there any explicit statement to the effect that Simhanandi Ācārya gave Koṅguṇivarmā a kingdom. The Bedirūr plates only repeat the fact of the great achievement of Koṅguṇivarmā as given in the grant of king Avinīta mentioned above.[2]

But in the damaged copper-plate grant of king Śivamāra I, Pṛthvīkoṅguṇi I, (A.D. 670-713...), it is clearly stated that Koṅguṇivarmā I, who was "possessed of renown for valour," "with his own sword at the suggestion of the Jaina teacher," whose name is lost in the record, cut evidently the stone pillar referred to in other epigraphs.[3] The Udayendiran grant of king Hastimalla dated *circa* A.D. 920, affirms that the Ganga lineage obtained increase through the greatness of Simhanandi.[4] The Kūḍlūr plates of king Mārasimha dated Śaka 884 (A.D. 963) confirm the above, and assert that by favour of Simhanandi Ācārya Koṅguṇivarmā obtained strength of

1. *M. A. R. for 1924*, p. 68.
2. *Ibid. for 1925*, pp. 85, 87.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 387 ; *M. A. R. for 1921*, p. 21.

arm and valour and cut asunder the great stone pillar with a single stroke of his sword.[1] The Humcca Pañcabasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1077, while tracing the spiritual descent of Jaina *gurus,* asserts the following in connection with the great Jaina teacher Samantabhadra—In his line was Simhanandi Ācārya who made the Ganga kingdom (*Ganga-rājyamam māḍida Simhanandi-ācāryar*).[2]

But the most admirable account of Simhanandi Ācārya's great achievement is given in the stone inscription found near the Siddheśvara temple on Kallūrguḍḍa, Shimoga hobli, Mysore State. It is dated A.D. 1122 and, after describing the early history of the Ganga family, it narrates thus about king Padmanābha's two sons Daḍiga and Mādhava, who were sent to the south when their father was attacked by Mahīpāla of Ujjain: Continuing by daily journeys they came to a pleasant place, where they saw the extensive Perūr (in the mod. Cuddapah district), a joy to the mind of the pure Lakṣmī; and a hill covered with flowering *mandāra, nameru,* and sandal trees. Seeing that Ganga Perūr, they pitched their camp on the bank of a tank there, and seeing a *caityālaya,* with full of devotion walked round it three times, and giving praises, saw the voyager to the farthest shore of learning, the full moon to the ocean the Jina congregation, possessed of patience, and all the ten excellent qualities, his good life a secure wealth, rejoicing in the modest, his fame extending to the four oceans, keeping at a distance from the evil, a sun in the sky of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa,* devoted to the performance of the twelve kinds of penance, promoter of the Ganga kingdom (*Ganga-rājya samuddharaṇam*)—Śrī-Simhanandi Ācārya;

1. *M. A. R. for 1921,* p. 19.
2. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* VII, Nr. 46, p. 139. See also Nr. 35, p. 138, where the same is repeated.

and doing reverence to him through faith in the *guru*, made known to him all the object of their coming. On which he, taking them by the hand, made them proficient in the art of learning, and after some days causing by his faith the goddess Padmāvatī to appear, obtained a boon, and gave them a sword and the whole kingdom.

The same stone inscription then continues thus :—While the *munipati* was looking on, Mādhava, honoured by the learned, shouting struck with all his might a stone pillar, when it (the pillar) broke with a noise of cracking ; what cannot brave men do? Seeing that energy, the *munipati*, making a coronet of the petals of the *karaṇikāra* bound it on, blessing them (the two brothers) as honoured by the good, scattering grain (on them), giving them with a pleased mind the domain of all the earth, making his peacock fan a signal flag for them, and furnished them with numerous attendants, elephants, and horses.

This interesting record further informs us about the advice which Simhanandi Ācārya gave the two brothers : Having thus put them in possession of all the kingdom, he gave them the following advice—That if they failed in what they promised, if they did not approve of the Jina *śāsana*, if they seized the wives of others, if they ate honey or flesh, if they formed relationship with the low, if they gave not of their wealth to the needy, and if they fled from the battlefield, then, their race would go to ruin !

The extent of the kingdom thus given to them by the great Ācārya is next described in the same inscription. Having said the above, with the lofty Nandagiri as their fortress, Kuvalāla as their city, the Ninety-six Thousand as their country, the blameless Jina their Lord, Victory their companion in the battle field, the Jina *mata* their faith, and with ever increasing greatness, the kings Daḍiga and

Mādhava ruled over the earth. The boundaries of their kingdom were the following—on the north its frontiers touched Marandaḷe, on the east Toṇḍanāḍ, on the west, the ocean and the place called Ceram, and on the south, Kongu. Moreover, having subdued all the enemies that were within these limits, the Gangas made firm their dominion over so much, the circle of Gangavāḍi 96,000.[1] It is this record which, as will be explained in a later context, states that Daḍiga and Mādhava erected a *caityālaya* on the hill Mandaḷi (near Shimoga), according to the advice of the same Ācārya, while out on an expedition to subdue the Konkaṇa.

That Simhanandi Ācārya actually taught his royal disciples the *syād vāda* doctrine is further proved by another record dated A.D. 1129, which informs us that "The sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat, which cuts asunder the row of stone pillars the hostile army of the *ghāti* sins, was vouchsafed by Simhanandi *muni* to his disciples also. Otherwise, how was the solid stone pillar, which barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty, capable of being cut asunder by him with his sword?"[2]

These records are of the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.; the Gangas as a ruling power disappeared by the end of the eleventh century A.D. Notwithstanding this chronological discrepancy, it may be conceded that the above account of Simhanandi Ācārya's having helped the first notable Ganga king in Karnāṭaka, Konguṇivarmā, may be accepted as valid. In a later connection in the same Siddheśvara temple record, while dealing with the spiritual line of the Jaina *gurus* of the Śrī Mūla *sangha*, Koṇḍakundānvaya,

1. *E. C.* VII, Sh. 4, p. 6. Cf. Sh. 39 dated A.D. 1122, and Sh. 56 dated A.D. 1125, pp. 17, 21.
2. *Ibid*, II, 67, pp. 25-26.

Krāṇūr *gaṇa*, and Meṣapāṣaṇa *gaccha* to which Simhanandi Ācārya belonged, it is again said that that teacher was a dweller in the southern country and a promoter of the family of the chiefs of the Ganga territory, and lord of the Śrī Mula *sangha* (*dakṣiṇa deśavāsi Ganga mahīmaṇḍalikakula-samuddharaṇaḥ Śrī-Mūlasanghanātho*). Evidently this was but a continuation of the earlier tradition as recorded, for instance, in the Udayendiran plates of king Hastimalla mentioned above. Its validity is further proved by an inscription assigned to *circa* A. D. 1179 in which it is said that the Ganga kingdom was brought into existence by the lord of the sages Simhanandi of the celebrated Deśika *gaṇa* named after Koṇḍakunda.[1]

Before proceeding further with these records, we may note that as pointed out by the late Mr. Narasimhacarya, in an old commentary on the Jaina work *Gommaṭasāra*, it is stated that, the Ganga family prospered by the blessings of the sage Simhanandi.[2]

The above inscriptions concerning Simhanandi Ācārya and Konguṇivarmā I, contain two other details which are of some importance in the history of Jainism in the pre-Vijayanagara days. The first relates to the position of the city of Perūr where the Ganga princes met the Jaina *guru*. The Siddheśvara temple inscription clearly informs us that Perūr was already a great Jaina centre in the days of Simhanandi Ācārya. It contained a *caityālaya* where assembled the ocean of the Jina congregation to which Simhanandi himself was the full-moon (*Jina samaya-sudhāmbhodhi-sampūrṇacandraram*).

The other detail is more interesting. In the same epi-

1. *E. C.* II, 397, p. 169.
2. *M. A. R.* for 1921, p. 26.

graph, as well as in others, we are told that Simhanandi Ācārya gave, firstly, a sword, and, then, a kingdom to prince Mādhava. With the sword the latter struck a stone pillar (*śilā stambha*) which broke with the noise of cracking. It was as a reward for this brave act of the prince, that Simhanandi put on his head the coronet of *karaṇikāra* flowers and gave him a kingdom. The incident of smiting the stone pillar preceded that of the gift of the kingdom. Now what was the stone pillar and the significance of its destruction? Rice suggested long ago about this renowned but rather unintelligible feat thus—"It seems not improbable that the term should properly be *śilā stambha*,[1] the name given to the pillars on which the edicts of Aśoka were inscribed. None has hitherto been found in the south, but no reason appears why one should not have been erected in this part of India, which Konguṇi I overthrew."[2] But it was only thirteen years later in 1892 that Rice himself made his epoch-making discovery of Aśoka's edicts at Moḷkālmūru in the Chitaldroog district. Although no edicts of Aśoka have been found in the neighbourhood of Perūr, yet it may not be wrong to assume that the reference to the *śilā stambha* in the above records is to one of such monuments which Konguṇivarmā destroyed.[3] It could not have been any ordinary

1. In the inscription edited by Rice it was read as *Sila stambha*.
2. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intr. p. xlii. (1879).
3. The many royal grants we have cited above refer in unmistakable terms to the great achievement of Konguṇivarmā. The only exception is the Narasimharājapura grant of king Śrīpuruṣa (A.D. 726-776...), assigned to about A.D. 780, in which the destruction of the stone pillar is attributed to a predecessor of Konguṇivarmā I. This document relates that in the race of that fortunate one, who, intent on victory, cut off by order of a Nirgrantha (Jaina) sage a huge stone pillar with his

pillar which that ruler broke with a single stroke of his sword. We have to assume that it may have been a monument which was not only literally large, but one the existence of which proved a barrier to the progress of that king. This latter supposition is based on the explicit statement in the inscription dated A.D. 1129 cited above which informs us that the stone pillar barred the road to the entry of the goddess of sovereignty. The reference here seems to be to the powerful hold which Buddhism had over that region prior to the age when Konguṇivarmā became master of Perūr. Buddhist influence still held its own in the south for some time to come; and it was evidently this which the great Jaina teacher overcame with the help of his royal disciple. Konguṇivarmā's demonstration of physical strength brought with it, indeed, "sovereignty" to the Jainas; and the reward which he secured for this remarkable feat was a kingdom.[1]

Whatever our difficulty in ascertaining the exact nature of the circumstances under which Simhanandi Ācārya enabled Konguṇivarmā to acquire political power in the region

(*Continued from p. 15.*)
sword, was born the matchless Konguṇi Rājā of the Kāṇvāyana *gotra* (*M.A.R. for 1920*, p. 28). Since all records except this unanimously attribute the performance of the great deed only to Konguṇivarmā I, and to none else, we have to suppose that the scribe who composed the Narasimharājapura plates was not properly informed of the deeds of the earliest historical figure in the Ganga genealogy. On a copper plate of Konguṇivarmā I, see *M.A.R. for 1912-1913*, pp. 33-34.

1. Mr. Hayavadana Rao asserts that the change in religion from Brahmanism to Jainism on the part of Konguṇivarmā "seems to have been insisted upon by the Ācārya Simhanandi as a *sine qua non* for any interest in the two boy-princes Daḍiga and Mādhava." *My. Gaz.*, II, p. 592. This is merely a conjecture.

around Perūr,[1] there can be hardly any doubt that the aid which the great Jaina sage gave the Ganga ruler secured for Jainism royal patronage at the hands of the Ganga monarchs who, excepting in a few instances, fostered it with care for centuries after the time of Koṅguṇivarmā I. For instance, king Viṣṇugopa is said to have set aside the Jina faith for that of Nārāyaṇa (*Viṣṇu*).[2] But his son (or grandson) Taḍangala Mādhava, notwithstanding the fact of his having been a devotee of Triyambaka, carried on the earlier Ganga tradition of extending patronage to the Jainas. A copper-plate grant found in the ruined *basti* at Noṇamangala, Malūr tāluka, and dated in his 13th regnal year, records the grant of the Kumārapura village and other specified land for the Arhat temple in the Perbbolal village. This was done at the instance of the Ācārya Vīradeva, who was proficient in his own doctrine and in other dogmas.[3] That Taḍangala Mādhava should have done this is, indeed, noteworthy, specially when it is remembered that he is described as one who was "of widespread fame for his revival of Brahman endowments long since destroyed."[4] In another record he is described as a "reviver of donations and sacrifices for long-ceased festivals of the gods and Brahman endowments, daily eager to extricate the ox of merit from the thick mire of

1. A damaged and undated stone inscription found near Icavāḍi, Shimoga hobḷi, is unique in the sense that it is the only record which gives the name of Nandibhaṭṭāraka of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa* as having been the teacher of the Ganga kings ruling over the southern country (*M.A.R. for 1923*, p. 115). We do not know whether this was the same Nandi *muni* who is mentioned in a record assigned to A.D. 700 (*E. C.* II, 111, p. 45).

2. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 34.

3. *E. C.* X., Mr. 73, pp.172-173. Rice assigns this copper-plate grant to *circa* A.D. 370.

4. *Ibid.*, IX, DB. 67, p. 71.

the Kaliyuga in which it had sunk."[1] These statements obviously refer to those days of Jaina ascendancy under the early Ganga monarchs when the Vedic ideas and Brahman superiority had been relegated into the background by the vigour and driving force of Jainism.

King Taḍangala Mādhava's son and successor was Avinīta. This ruler "like Vaivasvata Manu devoted to protecting the south in the maintenance of castes and religious orders, the friend of all",[2] was undoubtedly a Jaina. The Noṇamangala copper-plate grant issued in the 1st regnal year of that monarch, amply proves this assertion. In this record king Avinīta, who is called merely Śrīmat Koṅguṇivarmā Dharmamahārājādhirāja, in that year, on the advice of his preceptor the *parama-arhat* Vijayakīrti, gave the Vennelkarani village (location specified) to the Uranūr Arhat temple, and one-fourth of the *kārṣāpaṇa* (a copper coin 80 *rati* in weight) of the outside customs to the Perūr Ēvāni-aḍigal's Arhat temple. The Uranūr Arhat temple, we are informed in the same document, was established by Candranandi and others of the Śrī Mūla *sangha*. This copper-plate grant has been assigned to *circa* A. D. 425 by Rice.[3]

1. *E. C.* IX, DB. 68, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*, DB. 68, p. 73. On his benevolent attitude towards the Brahmans, see *ibid.*, DB. 67, p. 71.

3. *Ibid*, X., Mr. 72, pp. 171-172. See also Ramaswami Ayyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 110-111 (Madras, 1922). The Mercara plates of the same king, the genuineness of which has been questioned, also confirm the statement made above that he was a staunch follower of the Jina *dharma*. This copper-plate grant, assigned by Rice to A. D. 466, relates that that king gave the village of Badaneguppe (location given) to Caṇdraṇandi Bhaṭṭāraka, who was the disciple of

That king Durvinīta, son and successor to king Avinīta, was likewise a good Jaina is proved by a later record dated A. D. 1055-6 to be cited in a later context.

Rice asserted that the celebrated Jaina grammarian Pūjyapāda was the spiritual *guru* of king Durvinīta. This statement was based on the Hiremaṭha copper-plate grant found at Hobbūru, Tumkur tāluka, and assigned by Rice to *circa* A. D. 700. In it king Durvinīta is thus described —*Śabdāvatārakāra-deva-Bhāratī-nivaddha Bṛhadp*[k]*athā* which Rice interpreted thus—" restricted to the path of greatness by the instruction of the divine who was the author of the *Śabdāvatāra*."[1]

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya denied that Pūjyapāda had anything to do with king Durvinīta at all. He maintained that *Śabdāvatārakāra Devabhāratī-nibaddha-Bṛhadkathā* were two of the *birudas* of king Durvinīta, meaning thereby that that ruler wrote the *Śabdāvatāra,* and translated into Sanskrit Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhadkathā*.[2]

This assertion rests on the Gummareḍḍipura plates of king Durvinīta, issued in his 40th regnal year. In this important record it is clearly stated thus—*Śabdāvatāra-kāreṇa*

(*Continued from p. 18.*)
Guṇanandi Bhaṭṭāraka, through the offices of the minister of Akālavarṣa Pṛthvīvallabha. The grant was made on behalf of the Śrīvijaya *basadi* at Taḷavananagara. (*E. C.*, I. Cg. 1, p. 51). The ruler mentioned here may have been Kṛṣṇa I, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, who seems to have been the first to assume the name Akālavarṣa. But what a minister of the latter had to do with king Avinīta is not clear. On king Avinīta's patronage of the Jainas, read *Indian Antiquary,* I, p. 136; Krishna Rao, *Gangas of Talkad*, p. 227.

1. *E. C.*, XII. Tm. 23, p. 7; *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 35, 196.
2. *Karnataka Kavicarite,* I. pp. 12-13.

Devabhāratī nibaddha Vaḍḍakathena Kirātārjunīyena-pañcadaśa-sarga-ṭīkākāreṇa Durvinīta nāmadheyena.[1]

But our difficulty does not end here. While the Gummareḍḍipura plates conclusively prove that king Durvinīta was the author of a *Śabdāvatāra*, it cannot be maintained on the strength of this record that he was not the disciple of Pūjyapāda. We have to admit that there is no explicit reference in any inscription to the fact that Pūjyapāda was the *guru* of king Durvinīta. The Kaḍagattūr plates assigned by Rice to *circa* A. D. 482, no doubt, describe king Durvinīta as one who walked according to the example of his *guru* (*svaguru guṇānugāminā*).[2] But this does not show that Pūjyapāda was connected with king Durvinīta.

A solution of the problem lies in ascertaining a few details centring round Pūjyapāda. We know that this great teacher was the author of a work called *Śabdāvatāra*. A later record found in the Pañcabasti at Humcca, and assigned to A. D. 1530 on valid grounds, informs us that Pūjyapāda was the author of the following works—*Nyāyakumuda-candrodaya*, the *nyāsa* on the *sūtras* of Śākaṭāyana, the *nyāsa* named *Jainendra* "also the great *nyāsa* called *Śabdāvatāra* on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini," the *Vaidya-śāstra* for the good of mankind, and a *ṭīkā* to the *Tattvārtha*.[3]

Can we rely upon this record of the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. for determining something about a person who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era? This will depend on our comparing some of the details given in the above inscription with those found in other records. An inscription dated A. D. 1163 informs us that Pūjyapāda

1. *M.A.R. for 1912*, pp. 31-32, 35.
2. *E.C.* XII. Mi. 110, p. 115.
3. *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 46, p. 147 ; *My. & Coorg*, p. 197.

was so called because of his two feet being worshipped by the deities, that he had at first the name Devanandi, and that, on account of his towering intellect, he was also called Jinendrabuddhi. The same epigraph gives an account of his works. His *Jainendra* proclaimed to the learned his unequalled knowledge of grammar ; his great *Sarvārthasiddhi* his proficiency in philosophy ; his *Jainābhiṣeka,* his high poetic talent and subtle knowledge of prosody ; and his *Samādhiśataka,* his peace of mind.[1] A later record dated A. D. 1432 gives us three additional details in regard to Pūjyapāda. He was unrivalled in the power of healing, and he visited Jina in Videha, while the touch of the water used for washing his feet indeed had the virtue of turning iron into gold.[2]

The above inscriptions, therefore, confirm the Pañcabasti record in regard to the following points—That Pūjyapāda was the author of *Jainendra,* and that he was well versed in the science of medicine. Now we know from other sources that Pūjyapāda wrote an extensive commentary on the *Tattvārtha sūtra* of Umāsvāmi, and the work *Jainendra vyākaraṇa.*[3] The Pañcabasti inscription is the only source of information in regard to the other works which he wrote —*Nyāyakumuda-candrodaya,* the *nyāsa* on the *sūtras* of

1. *E.C.* II. 64, p. 17. *Cf. Ibid.*, 254 dated A.D. 1398 which confirms the name Devanandi and Jinendrabuddhi given to him, and the derivation of the name Pūjyapāda. p. 110.

2. *Ibid,* 258, p., 117. Pūjaypāda's famous work on medicine was probably called *Kalyāṇakāraka.* This was rendered into Kannaḍa by the poet Jagaddaḷa Somanātha in about A. D. 1150. (*Kavicarite,* I, pp. 164-165. rev. ed)

3. Hiralal, *A Catalogue of Mss. in the Central Provinces and Berar,* Intr. p. xx.

Śākaṭāyana, and the great *Śabdāvatāra.*[1] The fact of Pūjyapāda's having written the *nyāsa* on Śākaṭāyana's *sūtras* is interesting. If corroborated by other sources it would mean that not only was Śākaṭāyana earlier than, or contemporary with, Pūjyapāda, but that the latter was perhaps the earliest commentator on Śākaṭāyana's famous work on grammar, *Śabdānuśāsana.* One would then have altogether eight, and not seven, commentaries on Śākaṭāyana's work.[2] For our purpose we may note that Pūjyapāda who had written a *nyāsa* on Śākaṭāyana's great work on grammar, could also have written another work on grammar called *Śabdāvatāra* himself.

Turning to king Durvinīta we find that we have valid reasons to assume that he was not an original writer on grammar. While there is clear evidence of his having written a commentary on the fifteenth *sarga* of *Kirātārjunīya,*[3] nowhere is it said that he was a great grammarian. In the Nallāḷa plates, for instance, issued by that monarch we have quite a number of details concerning his literary attainments. It is expressly said in this record that the king was an expert in the composition of various kinds of poetry, stories, and dramas, but nothing about his proficiency in grammar is mentioned in it.[4] If king Durvinīta

1. Pārśvapaṇḍita in his *Pārśvanātha purāṇa* (composed in A. D. 1222) ascribes the following works to Pūjyapāda—*Kalyāṇakāraka, Jainendra,* and *Tattvārthavṛtti. Kavicarite, I.* p. 325, n. (1).

2. Hiralal says that there are only seven important commentaries on Śākaṭāyana's work discovered hitherto. He gives their names. *Op. cit.,* Intr. p. xxv.

3. *M.A.R. for 1918.* p. 28; *ibid., for 1920,* p. 28; *ibid for 1921,* p. 20; *ibid for 1924,* p. 76; *ibid for 1925,* p. 88; *ibid for 1927,* p. 108.

4 *Ibid., for 1926* p. 71.

had been a great grammarian, the scribes who composed his inscriptions would never have failed to allude to it in their compositions. For instance, it is said of king Śivamāra that he was "a distinguished sailor able to reach the other side of the unfordable ocean of Pāṇini's grammar."[1] The absence of such a qualifying phrase in connection with king Durvinīta suggests that he was not an original writer on grammar.

How, then, is the statement made in the Gummareḍḍipura plates that he was a *Śabdāvatārakāra* to be understood? We know that he was a staunch Jaina, that he wrote a commentary on *Kirātārjunīya,* and that he translated into Sanskrit Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhadkathā*. It may not be too much to suppose that he put into Kannaḍa the original *Śabdāvatāra* of Pūjyapāda, obviously as a mark of respect for his great *guru*. This would mean that we have to assign Pūjyapāda to the same age in which king Durvinīta lived, *viz.*, the latter half of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A. D.[2]

King Śivamāra I (A. D. 670-713) continued the Jaina traditions of the earlier rulers. That he was himself a Jaina is proved by one of his copper-plate grants

1. *M.A.R.* for *1927*, p. 77.

2. This was precisely the date arrived at for Pūjyapāda by the late Mr. Narasimhacarya. *Kavicarite*, I. pp. 5-6. He likewise assigned king Durvinīta to the first half of the sixth century A. D. *M.A.R. for 1912*, pp. 35-36. Two other works of Pūjyapāda are mentioned by Hiralal—*Śrāvakācāra* and *Upāsakācāra* dealing with instructions for the conduct of a Jaina lay man. Hiralal, *op. cit.*, pp. 628, 696. On p. 706 Hiralal mentions *Sarvārthasiddhi*. On Pūjyapāda, read Kielhorn, *I. A.*, X., 75 ; Pathak, *ibid*, XLVIII, pp. 20, 512 ; Peterson, *Report on Skt. Mss.*, II. pp. 67-74.

mentioned above, which relates that he gave as a gift some specified lands in the village of Kellipusugūr (location given) for the services of a Jina temple to Candrasenācārya.[1]

Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa, Pṛthvīkonguṇi II (A.D. 726-801), was a devout patron of Jainism. The Devarahaḷḷi plates dated A. D. 776 tell us that that monarch granted a village named Ponnaḷḷi in the Nirgunda country for the repairs of a Jina temple named Lokatilaka which had been caused to be erected by Kandācci. This lady was the daughter of Pallavādhirāja and the wife of Parama Gūla, the Nirgunda Rājā.[2] King Śrīpuruṣa's reign extended till the year A. D. 801, when, as the stone inscription dated in that year and found in the Īśvara temple, Basavaṭṭi village, Mysore district, informs us, that ruler, while in Taḷavanapura (Talakāḍ), granted certain specified taxes on shepherds to some citizens (named). One of the clauses at the end of this record affirms that he who collected this tax would be guilty of killing Brahmans, destroying Benares, *basadis*, and tawny cows.[3] Obviously to the royal patron of Jainism, destruction of *basadis* was a heinous crime.

It is evidently from him that his sons Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa, and Prince Duggamāra learnt to show special favour to Jainism. For king Śivamāra II was himself a staunch supporter of that religion. He built a *basadi* on the smaller hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. The epigraph found on a boulder near the Candranāthasvāmi *basadi*, records merely in Kannaḍa the plain fact thus—*Śivamārana basadi.* On palæ-

1. *M. A. R. for 1925*, p. 92.
2. *E. C.* IV. Ng. 85, p. 135; *My. & Coorg.*, p. 39.
3. *M. A. R. for 1933*, pp. 237-238.

graphic grounds this record has been assigned to *circa* A.D. 810.[1]

King Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa's younger brother Duggamāra Eṛeyappa was likewise a Jaina by persuasion. An undated stone inscription near the Āñjaneya temple at Hebbalaguppe, Heggaḍedevana tāluka, Mysore district, relates that Śrī Narasingere Appor Duggamāra gave specified lands to the Jaina temple (*koil-vasadi*) of the locality. The inscription also supplies us with the name of the great architect (*peruntacchan*) Nārāyaṇa, who built the *basadi;* and tells us that the citizens of three villages (named) also gave lands equal to those granted by the Ganga prince, for the maintenance of the *basadi.*[2] Prince Duggamāra ruled for some time as a viceroy of Kovalanāḍ under his father, and, then, on the latter's death, tried to establish himself against his elder brother.[3] The Āñjaneya temple record has been assigned to *circa* A. D. 825 by Dr. Krishna.[4]

King Śivamāra II's reign was indeed an age of misfortune for the Ganga family. It was during his rule that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas cast their sway over Gangavāḍi Ninety-six Thousand, imprisoning him three times, and eventually permitting him to rule as their feudatory—the solitary instance of a Ganga monarch acknowledging an overlord ! This was in the latter part of the ninth century A. D. when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under king Dhruva Nirūpama, Dhārāvarṣa, suc-

1. *E.C.*, II, Intr. p. 43; 415, text p. 180; *M.A.R. for 1911*, p 24. Rice asserts that he also erected a basadi in Kummadavāḍa (mod. Kalbhāvi in the Belgaum district), *My & Coorg.*, p. 41.

2. *M.A.R. for 1932*, pp. 240-241.

3. Rice, *My & Coorg.*, pp. 39, 55.

4. *M.A.R. for 1932*, p. 241.

cessfully intervened in the affairs of Karnāṭaka.[1] This intervention no doubt was highly detrimental to the continuance of the Ganga sovereignty, but it proved beneficial to the cause of Jainism. For the Rāṣṭrakūṭas now imitated the Gangas and in their turn took upon themselves the duty of protecting that religion.

It is not that kings were wanting in the Ganga family who could outshine Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa, in his liberal attitude towards Jainism. A patron of that religion appeared in king Nītimārga I, Ereyanga Raṇavikramayya, who, as is related in the Kūḍlūr plates of king Mārasimha, was "a bee at the pair of the lotus feet of the adorable Arhat-bhaṭṭāraka." The same record informs us that king Nītimārga's second son Bhūtugendra, Guṇaduttaranga, was also a devout Jaina (*parama Jaina*)[2] These facts concerning both king Nītimārga I and Bhūtugendra are confirmed by the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates dated A. D. 904.[3]

Some time elapses before we come across the next Ganga patron of Jainism. In king Mārasimha Guttiya Ganga, Noḷambakulāntaka, who reigned from A.D. 961 till A.D. 974, we have a very fervent Jaina. The Kūge Brahmadeva pillar inscription on the Cikkabeṭṭa at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, dated A. D. 974, gives in detail the meritorious work of king Mārasimha Guttiya Ganga on behalf of the *syād vāda* doctrine. This elaborate inscription after enumerating all his military victories, affirms that he "maintained the doctrine of Jina," and caused to be erected at various places *basadis* and *mānastambhas*. According to the same record, king Mārasimha "having reverently carried out works of

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1. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 40-41.
2. *M.A.R. for 1921*, pp. 20-21.
3. *E.C.*, XII, Nj. 269, p. 135.

piety, one year later he relinquished the sovereignty, and observing the vow for three days with the rites of worship in the presence of the holy feet of Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka at Bankāpura, accomplished *samādhi*."[1] This was evidently the acknowledged method of *sallekhanā* or death by starvation enjoined on the devotees of Jina.[2]

King Mārasimha's benevolence consisted not merely in building *basadis* in many places but also in actively supporting renowned Jaina scholars. One of these was Muñjārya Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa, the son of the Brahman scholar Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa. The Kūḍlūr plates of this Ganga monarch contain many details in regard to the great figure of Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa, the spiritual preceptor (*śruta guru*) of that ruler. Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa was a treasury of the jewels of wisdom, and a mine of the pearls of intellect. With very little effort and labour all learning came to him in a short time as though it had been made ready in his previous birth. He was well versed in the science of grammar, and seems to have composed himself "a grammatical system free from doubt." Moreover he was a great logician having mastered the three schools of logic and the Lokāyata, Sānkhya, and Bauddha systems of philosophy. In Jainism he became celebrated as Vādighangala. He was besides an eminent poet.

The achievements of this great scholar are next enumerated in the same epigraph thus—His eloquence in the exposition of literature made king Ganga Gāngeya, a cuckoo in the grove of delighters in all learning, his pupil ; his instruction in politics induced the learned men of Vallabha

1. *E.C.*, II, 59, pp. 12-14.

2. On *sallekhanā* as given by Samantabhadra in his *Ratnakaraṇḍa* read *ibid.*, Intr. p. 69.

Rāja's capital to show him great honour which proclaimed to the world his greatness and remarkable scholarship ; and his counsel to Kṛṣṇa Rāja, which enabled him to conquer all regions, procured for him the king's esteem along with that of all his *maṇḍalikas* and *sāmantas*.

But Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa was as pious to the Brahmans as he was partial to the Jainas. We are further told in the same epigraph that he showed eager desire in doing good to others, his renunciation in the matter of seizing others' women and wealth, his love in hearing the stories of the good, his aversion in the matter of giving ear to evil report regarding the good, his intentions in worshipping the lotus feet of Jineśvara, his diligence in making gifts to sages and Brahmans, his full consciousness in protecting refugees, and his faculty of remembering the good done to him.[1]

To such a learned and pious scholar, king Mārasimha gave on a specified day in Śaka 884 (expired) the village named Bagiyūr (location given) as a gift.[2]

1. This portion of the praise bestowed on Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa seems more appropriate to a ruler than to a pious Jaina. B. A. S.

2. *M.A.R. for 1921*, pp.23-24. A stone inscription found in the Śankhabasti at Lakṣmeśvar, Miraj tāluka, mentions the fact that king Mārasimha Satyavākya Konguṇivarmā, also called Ganga Kandarpa, gave to a Jaina sage Jayadeva, the disciple of Ekadeva, specified land in Puligere (mod. Lakṣmeśvar) for the worship and festivals of Jinendra in the Śankhabasti and Tīrthabasti of that same city. Jinendra is called here the god of the king Ganga Kandarpa. The same record registers another grant of land by the feudatory of that king, Durgaśakti of the Sendraka family, for the worship in the *caitya* of Śankhabasti. (*I.A.*, XII, pp. 109-110.) Fleet gives the date Śaka 890 (A.D. 968-9) for this record but says on p. 102 that the date is expressed in words, and not in figures. It is evident that he has forced the date. See *ibid.*, p. 103. This date cannot be reconciled with

A mutilated stone inscription found in Angaḍi grāma, Gōnibīḍu hobḷi, Mūḍgere tāluka, Mysore State, and assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1040, relates that "celebrated through the *munis* of Gangavāḍi was king Rācamalla." His *guru* was Vajrapāṇi Paṇḍita of the Draviḷānvaya which belonged to the Mūla *sangha*.[1] This Rācamalla was evidently Nītimārga III, Rācamalla, Kacceya Ganga, for whom we have the date A. D. 920.[2]

The last prominent name in the Ganga genealogy is that of Rakkasa Ganga V, Permmānaḍi, Rācamalla V, who ascended the throne in A.D. 984, and who endeavoured in vain to prop up the falling structure of Ganga dominion.[3] The Pañcabasti stone inscription examined in a later connection in this treatise, and dated A.D. 1077, informs us that the *guru* of Rakkasa Ganga Permmānaḍi was Śrīvijayadeva, "in whom the former glory of both the learning and the penance of Hemasena *muni* have for a long time grown and greatly increased."[4] Rakkasa Ganga was the patron of the famous

the known dates of the early Ganga rulers. King Mārasimha Ganga Kandarpa is called here the younger brother of king Harivarmā who was the son of Mādhava II. (*ibid.*, pp. 107-108). We know from other records that Harivarmā reigned from A.D. 247 till A.D. 266 (*My. & Coorg.*, p. 49). Hence it is not possible to accept the date Śaka 890 given to this inscription. But the title Satyavākya affixed to the name of Mārasimha suggests that he came after Rācamalla Satyavākya 1, who reigned in the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

1. *E. C.* VI, Mg. 18, p. 61.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 50. We could have identified Rācamalla mentioned here with Rācamalla IV but for the fact that, as we shall see in a later context, the *guru* of Rācamalla IV was a celebrated Jaina teacher whose achievements we shall have to enumerate in some detail.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 47, 57.
4. *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 138.

Kannaḍa poet Nāgavarmā, the author of *Cchandombudhi* and the (Kannaḍa) *Kādambarī*.[1]

While the above royal patrons in the Ganga family are discernible in the documents issued by the monarchs themselves, other members of the same House, who were devotees of Jina, are found in the records of their feudatories whose contribution to the progress of Jainism will be dealt with presently. In the meantime we may note that the Ganga monarchs from the time of king Konguṇivarmā down to that of king Nītimārga III, Rācamalla, notwithstanding their liberal attitude and patronage of the Hindus, still continued to foster the cause of Jainism to which alone their House had owed its origin as a political factor in the land.

Long before the Ganga dominion had actually crumbled, as related above, Jainism had fortunately come under the aegis of two royal families, one of whom we have mentioned, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the other, the Kadambas, about whom we have some interesting details in epigraphs. The Kadambas were essentially Brahmanical in religion. Yet the Kadamba family gave a few monarchs who were devout Jainas, and who were responsible for the gradual progress of that religion in Karnāṭaka. The Kadambas were of indigenous origin.[2] The founder of this line was one Mukkaṇṇa or Trinetra, although the actual greatness of the House is attributed to the famous Mayūravarmā (middle of the third century A.D.). But it is only towards the end of the fourth century A.D. that we come across an avowed Jaina in the Kadamba royal family. This was king Kākusthavarmā who may have reigned towards the end of

1. Read *Kavicarite*, I. p. 54 seq., for a discussion on his date. See also *E.C.* II, Intr. p. 75.

2. Rice, *My & Coorg*, p. 21 ; Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, pp. 7-11.

that period.[1] A copper-plate grant dated in the 80th year of Kākusthavarmā's victory, relates that that king gave to Śrutakīrti, who is called in the record *senāpati* or general (?), the field called Badovarakṣetra (location specified), which belonged to the holy Arhats. The record which opens with an invocation to Jinendra, closes with reverence to Ṛṣabha.[2] What precisely is meant by the term *senāpati* applied to Śrutakīrti, and what was meant by the statement that that grant was awarded as a gift to Śrutakīrti for having saved himself, cannot be determined. Neither can we find out who was Śrutakīrti.[3] Future research may reveal the fact that Śrutakīrti was indeed a Jaina general. A later record of king Ravivarmā says that " in former times the Bhoja priest Śrutakīrti, the best among men, who was the receptacle of learning, who enjoyed the reward of many meritorious actions, and who was possessed of the qualities of performing many sacrifices and bestowing gifts and tenderness," had acquired the great favour of king Kākusthavarmā.[4]

King Kākusthavarmā's grandson was king Mṛgeśavarmā, who reigned in the fifth century A.D.[5] A copper-plate grant

1. Rice, *My & Coorg.*, p. 21. Moraes places king Kākusthavarmā between A. D. 430 and A.D. 450, since, according to him, Mayūravarmā founded the dynasty in A.D. 345. *Kadamba-kula*, pp. 71-72. Mr. Govinda Pai places Kākusthavarmā between A.D. 265—A.D. 286. (*Journal of Indian History*, XIII, p. 165).

2. *I. A.*, VI p. 24.

3. A Śrutakīrti, author of *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya* which could be read forwards and backwards, is mentioned as a colleague of Gaṇḍavimukta. But this Śrutakīrti belonged to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (*E.C.*, II. Intr. p. 85. See also *ibid.*, pp. 87, 88, for a later Śrutakīrti.)

4. *I. A.*, VI, p. 27.

5. Moraes places him between A.D. 475—A.D. 490. *Kadamba-kula*, p. 71.

dated in the 3rd year of his reign, and issued from his capital Vaijayantī, relates that king Mṛgeśa granted certain specified fields for the purpose of sweeping the *Jinālaya*, anointing the image in it with *ghī*, performing worship, repairing anything that may be broken and for decorating the image with flowers. This charter was written by the very pious Dāmakīrti, the Bhojaka.[1] Another grant issued by the same monarch in his 4th regnal year, is interesting in the sense that it mentions two sects of Jainas living in the city of Vaijayantī. The village (named and location specified) granted by that king was divided into three shares—the first for the holy Arhat, the second for the sake of the congregation of eminent ascetics called Śvetapaṭa (*Śvetapaṭa mahā-śramaṇa sangha*), who were intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat, and the third for the enjoyment of the congregation of the eminent ascetics called Nirgrantha (*Nirgrantha mahā-śramaṇa-sangha.*)[2] The Śvetapaṭas were no doubt the Śvetāmbaras, while the Nirgranthas were those who wore no clothes at all, the Digambaras.[3] The qualifying phrase used in connection with the Śvetapaṭas, *viz.*, that they practised the true religion (*sad-dharma*) is interesting. In the 8th year of king Mṛgeśavarmā, according to another copper-plate grant, that king, "through devotion for the king his father who was dead," caused to be built a *Jinālaya* in the city of Palāsikā, and granted specified land to it. This gift was meant for supporting the Kūrcakas, who were naked religious mendicants. The same Jaina priest Dāmakīrti, the Bhojaka, mentioned above, and the minister-general Jiyanta were the principal grantees.[4]

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1. *I. A.*, VII, pp. 36-37.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 38, ns. 28 & 29.
4. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 25.

King Ravivarmā succeeded king Mṛgeśavarmā. The new king continued the wise policy of his father and maintained the Jina *dharma.* A copper-plate grant gives us an idea of the law passed by this ruler to further the cause of Jainism. "The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palāsikā, that the glory of Jinendra, (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year at the full moon of (the month of) Kārtika from the revenues of that village (Purukheṭaka given to Dāmakīrti's mother by king Mṛgeśavarmā) ; that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season ; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumāradatta (his praise in which it is said that he was) renowned in the world, who abounded in good penance, and whose sect was his authority for what he did, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of the greatness ; and that worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens." The above mentioned village, we may add, was received by Dāmakīrti's son Bandhuṣeṇa, who gave it, through the favour of the king, to the mother of his father.[1]

In the reign of the same king his younger brother Bhānuvarmā gave certain lands as a gift to the Jainas, in order that the ceremony of ablution might always be performed without fail on the days of the full moon. This land was situated in Palāsikā, and was received by the Bhojaka Paṇḍara.[2]

King Ravivarmā's son was Harivarmā. According to a copper-plate grant dated in the 4th regnal year of king Harivarmā, that ruler while on the hill of Uccaśṛngī, on the

1. *I. A.*, VI, p. 27. See also *ibid.*, pp. 29-30 for another grant by king Ravivarmā to Jinendra.

2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 29.

advice of his father's brother Śivaratha, gave into the possession of the sect of Vāriṣeṇācārya of the Kūrcakas, the village of Vasuntavāṭaka (location specified). The object of the grant was that it should provide annually, at the eight days' sacrifice, the perpetual anointing with clarified butter for the temple of Arhat which Mṛgeśa, the son of the General Siṁha of the lineage of Bharadvāja, had caused to be built at Palāsikā ; and that whatever might remain after this was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect.[1] The same monarch in his 5th regnal year at the request of king Bhānuśakti of the Sendraka family, gave the village named Marade for the use of the holy people and for the celebration of the rites of the temple which was the property of the sect of Śramaṇas called Ahariṣṭi and the authority of which was superintended by the Ācārya Dharmanandi.[2]

The last prominent ruler in the main Kadamba line was Devavarmā, descended in the family of king Kṛṣṇavarmā I. Yuvarājā Devavarmā, according to another copper-plate grant, gave a specified field in Siddakedāra to the sect of the Yāpaṇīyas for purposes of worship and repairs of the *caityālaya* (in that village). This grant was made by the Yuvarāja when he was at Triparvata.[3]

Having seen the condition of Jainism under the Kadambas, we may now see how it flourished under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We said in the preceding pages that it was in the reign of king Śivamāra II, Saigoṭṭa, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony over Gangavāḍi 96,000 was cast, and that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas continued the noble tradition of the Gangas of extending patronage to the Jina *dharma*. In the eight century A. D.

1. *I. A.*, VI, p. 31.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
3. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 34-35.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Dantidurga Khaḍgāvaloka, Vairamegha, honoured one of the greatest figures in all Jaina history—Akalankadeva. A later stone inscription dated A.D. 1129 referred to elsewhere in this treatise, contains some interesting details in regard to king Dantidurga and Akalankadeva. While describing the greatness of the latter, the record says—"The following is represented to be his own description of the greatness of his extraordinary faultless learning : 'O king Sāhasatunga, there are many kings with white parasols ; but kings who are victorious in war and distinguished by liberality, like you, are hard to find. Just so, there are many scholars in the Kali age ; but no poets, pre-eminent disputants, orators, and experts in researches in various sciences, like me. As you, O king, are well known in putting down the arrogance of all enemies, so am I famed on this earth as the destroyer of all the pride of scholars. If not, here I am, and here in your court good and great men are always present. Let him who has ability to speak, if versed in all sciences, dispute (with me). It was not with a mind influenced with self-conceit or filled with hatred, but through mere compassion for those people who, having embraced atheism, were perishing that, in the court of the shrewd king Himaśītala, I overcame all the crowds of Bauddhas and broke Sugata with my foot.'"[1] Since Akalankadeva is said in a small Sanskrit work called *Akalankadeva-carita* to have defeated the Buddhists in Vikrama year 700, the identification of Sāhasatunga with Dantidurga may be accepted as valid.[2]

1. *E. C.* II, 67, p. 27.
2. *Ibid, Intr.* pp. 48, 84. See also Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 409. Dantidurga bore the *biruda Sāhasatunga* obviously because of his great victories. Read Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, pp. 32-33 (1st ed.)

If the above is allowed, then, we may attempt to fix the contemporaneity of another Jaina *guru* with a hitherto unidentified monarch in the following manner: The same record which speaks of Akalankadeva and king Dantidurga, informs us that the former's colleague was Puṣpasena *muni* whose disciple was Vimalacandra *muni*. The inscription then continues thus—"For the following verse of his (Vimalacandra's), which caused grief to the hearts of hostile disputants, speaks of hanging up a notice (in public)—'At the gate of the large palace of Śatrubhayankara, which is thronged with troops of horses and lordly elephants of various kings who are constantly passing (in and out), was eagerly put up by the high-minded Digambara Vimalacandra, a notice addressed to the Śaivas, the Paśupatas, the sons of Tathāgatha (*i. e.*, the Buddha), Kāpālikas, and the Kāpilas.'"[1]

It must be confessed that the solitary *biruda* of Śatrubhayankara given above does not enable us to identify with certainty the king referred to in the epigraph. But if, as said above, Akalankadeva was a contemporary of king Dantidurga, and, as we shall see, Paravādimalla lived in the age of king Kṛṣṇa II, then, we may arrive at the age of the king who had the *biruda* of Śatrubhayankara thus—Between Akalankadeva and Paravādimalla there are only three names of Jaina *gurus* in the admirable account given in the above record: Puṣpasena, the colleague of Akalankadeva himself, Vimalacandra, and Indranandi. We know the date of Paravādimalla (A. D. 884). If we allot thirty-five years to the *gurus* that preceded him, we reach A. D. 850 as the date of Indranandi, and A. D. 815, of Vimalacandra.

Now the only monarch by whose efforts, as the Maṇṇe plates dated A.D 802 tell us, "the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line rose above

1. *E. C.* II, 67 pp. 27-28.

the rivalry of others", was king Govinda III, Prabhūtavarṣa, (A. D. 779-?), who "though only one by his energy deprived of their glory the twelve famous kings who like a fire of the last day came upon him desiring to unite in acquiring the whole wide earth."[1] King Govinda's magnificent military achievements may have indeed caused them to look upon him as the terror of the enemies (Śatrubhayankara).[2]

The twelve famous kings mentioned above were led against the king by his own elder brother Kambha, Sthambha, Raṇāvaloka. This prince eventually submitted to king Govinda III, who placed him over Gangavāḍi 96,000;[3] and he seems to have turned over a new leaf in his life. For we find him now as a patron of the Jina *dharma*. The Maṇṇe plates cited above, inform us that Sauca Kambhadeva, while ruling under his younger brother king Govinda III, (at the instance of his younger brother?) granted the village of Pervāḍiyur (location given) together with a tithe of the produce of Padeyūr, for the *basadi* erected in the western quarter of Mānyapura by the victorious *Mahāsāmanta* Śrīvijaya.[4] Then, again, an incomplete copper-plate dated A. D. 807 hailing from Chāmarājanagara, informs us that Raṇāvaloka Kambharāja, when he was in his victorious camp at Taḷavananagara, granted at the request of his son Śankaragaṇa, the village of Vadaṇaguppe (location specified) to the kind-hearted, pious and learned Vardhamāna *guru*, the disciple of Eḷavācārya *guru*, who was the disciple of Kumāranandi Bhaṭṭāraka, of the Koṇḍakundānvaya, for the

1. *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 61, p. 43.
2. For an account of his exploits read Rice, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 69-70; Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 71.
3. Rice, *ibid*, p. 69.
4. *E. C. ibid*, Nl. 62, pp. 44-45.

Śrīvijaya *basadi* founded at Taḷavanapura. This *basadi* was probably the same which had been built by the *Mahāsāmanta* Śrīvijaya mentioned above.[1]

The next prominent Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler who extended his patronage to Jainism was Amoghavarṣa I, Nṛpatunga, Atiśayadhavaḷa (A.D. 815-877). From Guṇabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa* (A.D. 898), we know that king Amoghavarṣa I was the disciple of Jinasena, the author of the Sanskrit work *Ādipurāṇa* (A. D. 783).[2] The Jaina leaning of king Amoghavarṣa is further corroborated by Mahāvīrācārya, the author of the Jaina mathematical work *Gaṇitasārasangraha,* who relates that that monarch was a follower of the *syād vāda* doctrine.[3]

King Amoghavarṣa's son was Kṛṣṇa II who was likewise a devout Jaina. We know this from the Jaina author

1. *M. A. R. for 1921,* p. 31. See *E. C.* II. 35, p. 8, where Raṇāvaloka Kambha is mentioned in a grant to a Jaina *guru*. It cannot be made out whether his wife was also a Jaina. A Śrīvijaya is mentioned as the author of the Kannaḍa *campū* work *Candraprabhapurāṇa*, by the later Jaina writers like Mangarasa (A. D. 1508) and Doḍḍayya (A. D. 1550). The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified him with Śrīvijaya, the contemporary of king Govinda III, and, therefore, of Raṇāvaloka Kambha. (*Kavicarite,* I, pp. 13, 14). There is a Śrīvijaya Bhaṭṭāraka mentioned as the *guru* of Bhūtuga Permānaḍi, "the sun to the lotus of the Ganga *kula,*" in a record dated A.D. 1136. But the contents of this inscription, as related elsewhere, cannot be accepted without reservation.

2. *Kavicarite,* 1. p. 17. See also Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer,* I. P. II., p. 200; *I. A.* XII., pp. 216-217, and Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas.,* p. 88 where it is said that Jinasena claimed that he was the chief preceptor of king Amoghavarṣa.

3. Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.,* I. P. II; pp. 200-201. The edition and translation of this work by Prof. M. Rangacarya is inaccessible to me. B. A. S.

Guṇabhadra who, in the last five chapters of his teacher Jinasena's work *Ādipurāṇa* tells us that king Kṛṣṇa II was his disciple.[1] King Kṛṣṇa gave a grant to a *basadi* at Mulgund.[2] To his reign we have to assign an incident mentioned in the Pārśvanātha basti inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This interesting record is dated A.D. 1129, and it contains, among very many useful details, the fact that the following incident took place in the court of king Kṛṣṇa. The Jaina teacher Paravādimalla, who was "skilled in crores of chains of arguments, eloquent among the learned," and "doubtless a god," "when asked for his name by Kṛṣṇa Rājā, he gave out to him the following derivation of his name—"The position other than the one taken up is *para* (the other); those who maintain it are *paravādinah* (maintainers of the other); he who wrestles with them is *paravādimalla* (the wrestler with the maintainers of the other); this name, good men say, is my name."[3] We do not know what reward the astounded monarch gave this remarkable Jaina teacher. This ruler, it may be noted in passing, has been identified with Kṛṣṇa II.[4]

Of king Kṛṣṇa III's great regard to the learned Jaina scholar Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa, we have already seen above on the strength of the Kūḍlur plates of king Mārasiṁha. Vādighaṅgala Bhaṭṭa's advice to king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-968) enabled the latter, we may be permitted to repeat, to conquer all regions.[5] It was this monarch who patronized the Kannaḍa poet Ponna, or Ponnamayya, the author of the

1. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXII, p. 85; Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
2. *J. Bom. R. A. S.*, X. p. 192; Altekar, *ibid*, p. 312.
3. *E. C.* II. 67, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*, Intr. p. 48.
5. *M. A. R. for 1921*, p. 24, op. cit.

famous *Śāntipurāṇa* and *Jinākṣaramāle* in Kannaḍa, and who gave him the *biruda* of *Ubhayakavicakravarti*.[1]

King Kṛṣṇa's younger brother was Khoṭṭiga, Nityavarṣa, who seems to have been also a Jaina by persuasion. King Khoṭṭiga came to the throne in A. D. 968 and ruled till A. D. 971. The fact that he was a Jaina is proved by a record found in a ruined temple at Dānavulapāḍu, Jammalamadugu tāluka, Cuddapah district, which narrates that king Nityavarṣa caused the pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Śāntinātha.[2]

The last prominent name in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa House is that of king Indra IV. This expert in the game of polo died by the method of *sallekhanā* at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in A.D. 982. Two inscriptions prove this : one is the Gandhavāraṇa basti inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the other is Kāmagaṇḍa-manahalli stone inscription found in the Sīra tāluka. The former relates the following—That on the date (specified) having observed the vow with a peaceful mind, Indra Rājā praised by the people, acquired all the great power of the king of gods (Indra). The latter inscription records the fact that with an undisturbed mind performing the vows, the world renowned Indra Rājā gained the glory of king of all gods (Indra).[3]

Evidently the celebrated example set by the Emperor Candragupta Maurya was not forgotten by the Karnāṭaka monarchs even in the tenth century A.D.

Political events moved with swift rapidity in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. The reign of king Kṛṣṇa III witnessed the expansion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power from North Arcot to Tanjore. But the hegemony of the

1. *Kavicarite*, 1, pp. 40-41.
2. *331. of 1095 ; Rangacharya, Top List*, I, p. 589.
3. *E. C.* II, 133, p. 63 ; *E. C.* XII, Si. 27, p. 92.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas was destined to disappear, notwithstanding the gallant efforts made by the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha Guttiya Gaṅga, Noḷambāntakula, to prop the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. In the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., as narrated above, it was the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who had given a longer lease to Gaṅga sovereignty; now it was the turn of the Gaṅgas in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. to reciprocate and to endeavour to prolong the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion.

The Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, however, were fighting a losing battle. They failed to see in the old power that reappeared with renewed vigour an invincible enemy. After an eclipse of 200 years the Western Cālukyas suddenly made their appearance under king Tailapa Deva whose crushing defeat inflicted on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under king Kakka or Kakkala in A.D. 973, practically brought the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power to an end.[1] The hegemony of Karnāṭaka once again passed hands, and the Western Cālukyas now reigned supreme.

But it has ever been a most salient and praiseworthy feature of Karnāṭaka monarchy to continue the noble traditions of the country unimpaired. This explains why, so far as the Jina *dharma* is concerned, the Western Cālukyas preferred to show it the same liberal attitude which the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had shown. No doubt in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D., the Western Cālukyas had already given public expression to their Jaina tendency. For instance, in the 7th or 8th regnal year of the Western Cālukya monarch Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680—A.D. 696), a grant was made to the Jaina priest Udayadevapaṇḍita, also known as Niravadyapaṇḍita, who

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 72. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124. See also *ibid*, pp. 312-316 where he gives causes of Jaina prosperity.

belonged to the Devagaṇa sect attached to the Mūla *sangha* and the Śankhabasti at Puligere (mod. Lakṣmeśvar). In the reign of the next monarch Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 696—A.D. 733), as recorded in a stone inscription of A. D. 739, the village of Kardama, south of Puligere, was given to the same priest who is called the priest of the king's father. Udayadevapaṇḍita is styled here also the house pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda.[1]

When we come to the last quarter of the tenth century A. D., we find further proof of the Jaina leaning of the Western Cālukya monarchs. King Tailapa Deva II himself seems to have had a strong attachment to the Jaina religion. This alone explains the existence of a stone inscription in the Cenna Pārśva *basadi* at Kōgaḷī, Haḍagalli tāluka, Bellary district, dated Śaka 914 (A. D. 992-3), in which reference is made to a victory of that king over the Coḷa ruler.[2] King Tailapa Deva, it may be noted here, was the patron of the great Kannaḍa poet Ranna, Kaviratna, who wrote the *Ajitapurāṇa* in A. D. 993. It was from that monarch that Ranna received the title of *Kavicakravarti*.[3] We may incidentally observe in this connection that in an inscription dated A. D. 993, and found in the Somasamudra village, Mysore district, violators of the *bittuvaṭṭa* or taxable land, under a tank granted as a gift, are ranked with those who destroyed a *basadi*, Benares, a temple, and the tank for which the grant had been made.[4]

King Tailapa Deva's son and successor was Satyāśraya,

1. *I. A. XII*. p. 112.
2. *36 of 1904*.
3. *Kavicarite*, I, p. 63. See also *E. C.* II, Intr., p. 75 where it is wrongly said that Tailapa Deva was the III. of that name.
4. *M. A. R. for 1931*, p. 139.

Iṛiva Beḍenga, who ruled from A. D. 997 till A. D. 1009.[1] As will be shown in a later context, he constructed a monument (*niśidhi*) in honour of a Jaina *guru* who had died in the birth-place of the founders of a great line of kings who succeeded the Western Cālukyas in Karnāṭaka. Iṛiva Beḍenga's *guru* was Vimalacandra Paṇḍita Deva, the disciple (?) of Traikālamuni Bhaṭṭāraka of the Drāviḷa *sangha* and the Pustaka *gaccha*. This *guru* seems to have died in about A.D. 990 when Śāntiyabbe, a lay disciple of that teacher, set up a *niśidhi* in his memory.[2]

Direct proof of the patronage extended to the Jaina teachers by the later Western Cālukya rulers is afforded in the epigraphs of the time of king Jayasiṁha III, who reigned from A. D. 1018 till A. D. 1042. There is every reason to believe that that ruler himself caused to be constructed a *basadi* at Balipura. This is inferred from a stone inscription in the Kattale basti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A. D. 1100, in which the Jaina sage Maladhāri Guṇacandra is said to have been the worshipper at the feet of the god Mallikāmoda Śāntīśa in Balipura.[3] Since the title of Mallikāmoda was a distinctive *biruda* of king Jayasiṁha III,[4] we are to suppose that the *basadi* of Mallikāmoda Śāntīśa was built by king Jayasiṁha himself or by some one in his name.

The age in which king Jayasiṁha ruled produced a galaxy of great men both Jaina and Hindu. The most famous Jaina name is that of Vādirāja.[5] At the outset it may be

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 73.
2. *E. C.* VI. Mg. 11, p. 60.
3. *Ibid*, II., 69, p. 35.
4. *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 20(*a*), 125, 126, 153, text pp. 135, 234, 235, 260; II. p. 48, and *ibid*, n(2).
5. Another Vādirāja, chief disciple of Śrīpālayōgindra, belonged to the village of Śalya. He is mentioned in about A.D. 1200. *E. C.* V, Cn. 15, p. 193.

said here that there are some statements in inscriptions as well as in literature concerning his *guru* and disciple which cannot be properly reconciled. Vādirāja's real name was Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka. He belonged to the Drāmiḷa *gaṇa*, Nandi *sangha*, and the Arungaḷānvaya. In his *Pārśvanātha-carita* he tells us that he wrote it in Śaka 947 (A.D. 1025) in the reign of king Jayasiṁha, and that he himself was the disciple of Matisāgara whose *guru* was Śrīpāla.[1]

Only one inscription corroborates this statement made in the *Pārśvanathacarita* concerning Matisāgara's having been the *guru* of Vādirāja. This is the elaborate stone inscription in the Pārśvanātha basti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A. D. 1129. Here we are told that Matisāgara had two illustrious students—Dayapāla *muni*, the author of *Rūpasiddhi*, and Vādirāja.[2]

But three other records—two of them nearer in time to Vādirāja than the above inscription, and one removed—give Dayapāla's other name, the title of his work, his qualifications, and expressly state that he was the disciple of Vādirāja, who himself in one record is made the disciple of Vimalacandra. While one stone inscription creates further confusion by making Dayapāla the predecessor of Vādirāja, and the latter the *guru* of Oḍeyadeva !

These four records are the following—the Humcca Pañcabasti inscription dated A.D. 1077, hailing from the Nagar tāluka, Mysore State ; another record found in the same place which we shall style the II Pañcabasti inscription, dated also in the same year ; a third record found in the same place which will be called the III Pañcabasti inscription and dated A. D. 1147 ; and the Grāmadabasti stone

1. *E. C.* II, Intr. p. 84 ; *M. A. R. for 1923*, p. 16.
2. *E. C.*, *ibid.*, 67, p. 29.

inscription found in Maṇḍagadde hobḷi, Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka, Mysore State, and dated A. D. 1103.

The I and II Pañcabasti records dated in the same year A. D. 1077, are elaborate inscriptions which gave us interesting facts. The former which is in Kannaḍa states that after Munideva came Vimalacandra whose disciple was Vādirāja, whom it makes the *guru* of king Rācamalla and praises in the following terms—As by the side of the sun the moon cannot shine, so how can the chatterers called speakers in this world shine by the side of Vādirāja—thus esteemed was king Rācamalla's *guru* Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka (*Munidevaravarim Vimalacandrabhaṭṭārakara vara-śiṣyar ādityana keladoḷ candrodayam esayadavol ī-dharāmaṇḍaladoḷ vādigaḷ emb-ī-tuṇṭukavādigaḷ esedapare Vādirājana keladoḷ ant-enisi Rāya-Rācamalladēvaṅge gurugaḷ enisida Kanakasēnabhaṭṭārakar*). And then it asserts that Vādirāja's disciples were Dayapāla and Puṣpasena Bhaṭṭāraka. About the former it narrates that Dayapāla settled the declensions of words (*Rūpasiddhi*) in his *Prakriya* to the *Śabdānuśāsana*. Vādirāja's celebrity was so great that the scribe after mentioning his disciple, again dwells on Vādirāja's unsurpassed talents thus—" The power of your good in prose and verse is felt as far as the tusks of the regent-elephants; having gained the title of *Sarvajña-kalpam* (like to the Omniscient), be not alarmed at the other chief speakers, for, lo! if they refuse to give you the certificate (*patra*) of victory, you will tear and burn them up, they are no match for you, Vādirāja, thunderbolt to the mountain-chain the other speakers. Thus considered, the *Ṣaṭ-tarkka-ṣaṇmukha*, the *Jagadekamalla-vādi*, Vādirāja ".[1]

The II Pañcabasti record dated in the same year, repeats

1. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 35, p. 138.

the above details concerning Vādirāja's royal patron; and gives his disciple's other name as Oḍeyadeva.[1] Nothing is mentioned in this record about Vādirāja's *guru*, but the former is placed immediately after Akalankadeva.

The III Pañcabasti inscription is dated A. D. 1147. It likewise mentions Vādirāja after Akalankadeva, makes him king Rācamalla's *guru*, and speaks of his disciple Oḍeyadeva Dayapāla as the author of *Rūpasiddhi*. The same epithets concerning Vādirāja's learning as given above, are repeated, and it is said that "To gain the victory over the crowd of boasters in the assembly was a delight to Vādirājasūri, and to write and give him a certificate of victory was a delight to the Emperor Jayasiṁha."[2]

The Grāmadabasti stone inscription dated A. D. 1103, however, makes Dayapāla predecessor of Vādirāja, and places Oḍeyadeva next to Vādirāja.[3]

1. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 35 pp. 139-140.

2. *Ibid*, Nr. 37, p. 142. The statement in the translation, *viz.*, that Vādirāja's disciples were Oḍeyadeva and Dayapāla, seems to be wrong. For the original (*Ibid*, p. 368, ll. 148-150) does not warrant it. The word *baḷiyam* (l. 150) in the same may be translated "then", and not "after they had passed away", as done by Rice. The latter construction violates the facts known about Vādirāja and his disciples in other records. Cf. Nr. 40, dated A. D. 1077, where Oḍeyadeva, who is called Śrīvijayaḍeva, is said to be the disciple of Vādīrāja. *Ibid*, pp. 144, 372, ll. 42-43. This inscription gives the *gaṇa*, *saṅgha*, and *anvaya* to which both belonged.

3. *Ibid.*, Tl. 192, pp. 205, 388. The Saumynāyakī temple stone inscription found at Belur, and dated A. D. 1136, has an entirely new account to give concerning Vādirāja. It gives the following succession of the *gurus*—Paravādimalla, Kanakasena Vādirāja, Śrīvijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, the Emperor Jayasiṅgha's *guru* Vādirāja. *E. C.* V. Bl. 17, p. 51. We do not know how far

Whatever our difficulty in reconciling these statements concerning the *guru* and disciple of Vādirāja, the following facts stand out clearly from the above discussion—

1. That Vādirāja's claims to greatness both in the field of letters and philosophy were undisputed;

2. That he received a certificate of victory (*jayapatra*) from the Western Cālukya Emperor Jayasiṁha III; and

3. That he was the *guru* of the king Rācamalla.

The identity of the last named monarch must now be made. This is simplified when we have chronologically fixed Vādirāja in the age of the Emperor Jayasiṁha III, Jagadekamalla, during whose reign Vādirāja received the *biruda* of *Jagadekamallavādi* after the name of his royal patron. The king Rācamalla referred to in the above inscriptions was no other than the Ganga ruler Rācamalla IV, Satyavākya, who ascended the throne in A.D. 977,[1] and who was the royal master of the great Jaina general Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. We shall have to deal at some length with this famous Jaina general in a later context.

We have merely stated above the fact that it was the Emperor Jayasiṁha who bestowed upon Vādirāja a unique title. We shall now give some interesting details about the latter's great qualifications and activities in the Cālukyan court. The Pārśvanātha basti inscription referred to above gives the following account of Vādirāja—"Speech which illumined the three worlds has issued only from two per-

this information concerning two Vādirājas in practically the same age, can be credited. On other Vādirājas, read *ibid*, Cn. 141, Cn; 149, pp. 175, 191; VI. Kd. 69, p. 13. An inscription dated A. D. 1145 heaps on Vādirāja the praise generally bestowed on Akalankadeva, probably much in the same strain as is done by the scribe of the Saumyanāyakī temple inscription.

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 50; Krishna Rao, *Gangas*, p. 109.

sons on this earth : one, the king of Jinas, the other, Vādirāja. To be served by the wise is Vādirāja, the person of whose fame always covered the sky and was eager to outshine the disc of the moon ; near whose ears glittered rows of the *cauris* of speech ; who had the honour of a worthy-to-be-worshipped lion throne (or of a seat worthy-to-be-worshipped by king Jayasiṁha) ; and whose high excellence caused all the subjects the disputants to utter shouts of 'Victory ! Victory !'

"In the victorious capital of the illustrious Cālukya Emperor, which is the birth-place of Sarasvatī, the drum of the victorious Vādirāja roams about making without a stick these sharp sounds (addressed to its master)—*jahi* or strike (the rival disputant) with rising pride in disputation ; *jahihi* or dismiss (the rival declaimer), with supreme pride in declamation ; *jahāhi* or dismiss (the rival orator), impatient of his discourse ; *jahīhi* or dismiss (the rival poet), with pride in clear, soft, and pleasant poetry.[1] The king of serpents whose thousand tongues are well known, lives in Pātāḷa ; and Dhiṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati) whose disciple is the bearer of the thunderbolt, *i.e.*, Indra, does not stir out of heaven ; let these two live owing to the strength of their abodes ; what other disputants do not give up their pride and bow in the king's court to the all-conquering Vādirāja ? "[2]

And yet this mighty Jaina teacher met his match in the reign of the same monarch Jayasiṁha ! It is in connection with his great rival who seems to have won success over

1. In Jaina and Lingāyat literatures four kinds of scholars are often mentioned, namely, *kavi* (poet), *gamaki* (declaimer), *vādi* (disputant), and *vāgmi* (orator). This verse refers to the pre-eminence of Vādirāja in these four kinds of scholarship. *E. C.* II. p. 29. n. (5)

2. *Ibid*, 67, pp. 29-30.

him , that we come across the other celebrities of the age of king Jayasiṁha. The only source of information for this part of our narrative is the Pañcalingeśvara temple stone inscription found at Shikarpur, Mysore State. In this record dated A. D. 1036 king Jayasiṁha is said to be in the residence of Poṭṭalakere. It deals with the greatness of Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita, head of the Pañcalinga *maṭha* of the Kāḷāmukha order in the city of Baḷḷigāme in Banavase 12,000. This learned man is said to have "crossed over to the farthest shore of the ocean of logic and other sciences", "to speakers a Rudra", "a wild fire to the great forest of speakers", "a submarine fire to the Bauddha ocean, a thunderbolt to the Mīmāmsaka mountain, a saw for cutting down the Lokāyata great tree, a great kite to the Sānkhya serpent", and "an axe to the tree Advaita speakers."

The renowned contemporaries whom this celebrated Kāḷāmukha scholar Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita defeated are next mentioned thus in the same reord. He is said to have been "a Trinetra in burning the Tripura Akalanka, displacer of Vādigharaṭṭa, a mill-stone to Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, breaker of the pride of Jñānānanda, a fierce fire of dissolution to Viśvānaḷa, a fire of the last day to Abhayacandra, a Śarabha to the lion Vādībha, (or to Vādībhasimha), sealer up of the mouth of Vādirāja, displacer of Ayavādi," and the sole able supporter of the Naiyāyikas. Further down in the same epigraph Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita is said to be a falling star to the Digambara speakers.[1]

Some of the Jaina celebrities whom the Kāḷāmukha teacher worsted may be identified. Of these the identity of

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 126, pp. 97-98.

Tripura Akalanka and Abhayacandra is uncertain. It cannot be made out whether the latter is to be identified with Abhayacandradeva mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1398 as a *guru* who came after Māghanandi *muni*.[1] But about the other names, some information is forthcoming in epigraphs. Vādirāja is of course the great figure whom we have described above.

As regards Vādībhasimha, we have ample evidence to prove that his other names were Vādigharaṭṭa and Ajitasena. For instance, the Pārśvanātha basti inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa gives us the following details about him :—Resplendent is Vādībhasimha Ajitasena, the head of a school, splitter up of the front globes of all the rutting lordly elephants the disputants, whose lotus feet were kissed by the tops of the glittering crowns worn on the bowing heads of all the kings. The same record gives further details concerning "the intensity of his indifference to the world."[2] He was evidently the same Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka who is said to have been the *guru* of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya,[3] about whose great contribution to Jainism we shall presently describe in this treatise. And he is to be identified with the author of the work *Gadyacintāmaṇī*.[4]

The same Pārśvanātha basti inscription refers to another Western Cālukya monarch who has now to be identified. It says the following—"Alone fortunate is the sage, on whom the Pāṇḍya king, who had acquired superior knowledge through his favour, conferred the name *Svāmi*, and who had

1. *E. C.* II, 254, p. 111.
2. *Ibid*, 67, p. 31.
3. *Ibid*, Intr. pp. 45-46.
4. P. P. S. Shastri, *A Catalogue of Mss., in the Tanjore Library*, VII. Nos. 3993-4, pp. 2996-98.

the celebrated title *Śabda-caturmukha* (conferred on him), in the court of the king Āhavamalla."[1]

Now who were these—the Jaina *guru* who secured the title of *Śabda-caturmukha* and the monarch merely called Āhavamalla? From the manner in which the Jaina *gurus* are mentioned in the above epigraph, it is clear that the sage who secured the name *Svāmi* was the same as he who got the title *Śabda-caturmukha.* We shall first identify the *guru* who got the title *Śabda-caturmukha*; next, the one who secured the title *Svāmi*; and, finally, the king Āhavamalla.

Śabda-caturmukha was the *biruda* of Ajitasena Bhaṭṭāraka. This is proved by the II and III Pañcabasti stone inscriptions and the Grāmadabasti record cited above. The II Pañcabasti inscription dated A.D. 1077 tells us that after Vādirājā came Kamalabhadradeva who was followed by Ajitasenadeva. This last *guru* was known as *Śabda-caturmukha, Tārkkika-cakravarti,* and *Vādībhasimha,* and his colleagues (*saha-dharmigaḷu*) were Kumārasenadeva and Śreyāṁsadeva.[2] The Grāmadabasti record dated A.D. 1103 informs us that Vādirāja was succeeded by Oḍeyadeva (Dayapāla) who was followed by Śreyāṁsapaṇḍita, who was succeeded by Ajitasena *muni* who was followed by Kumārasena. Ajitasena is called in this inscription *Tārkkika-cakravarti* and *Vādībha-pañcānana.*[3] The III Pañcabasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1147 confirms the evidence of the above two records. It informs us that Vādirāja was followed by Kamalabhadradeva after whom came Ajitasena Paṇḍita known as *Śabda-caturmukha, Tārkkika-cakravarti,* and

1. *E. C.* II. 67, p. 30.
2. *Ibid.,* VIII. Nr. 6, pp. 140, 365.
3. *Ibid.,* Tl. 192, pp. 203, 688, l. 40.

Vādībhasiṁha. The colleagues of Ajitasena were Kumārasena and Śreyāṁsadeva.[1]

The identity of *Śabda-caturmukha* with Ajitasena being thus settled, we may next proceed to identify the *guru* who received the name *Svāmi.* On the strength of the Pārśvanātha basti stone inscription mentioned above, *Svāmi* was the same as *Śabda-caturmukha.* In other words, Ajitasena was also known by the name *Svāmi.* In this connection the Nañjedevaraguḍḍa stone inscription found at Sompūr, Hassan tāluka, is of some interest in spite of the slight discrepancy it contains. It is dated Śaka 1114 (A.D. 1192-3). In the list of *gurus* mentioned in it, we are told that Vādirāja was succeeded by Śāntadeva from whom Śabda-brahmasvāmi came, and from the latter Ajitasena Paṇḍita (*Śrī Śāntadēvarim Śabdabrahmasvāmidēvarind Ajitasena-paṇḍitadēvarim*).[2] In spite of the succession list being clearly given here, it may be assumed that the scribe has erred in making Ajitasena Paṇḍita successor to Śabdabrahmasvāmi which name itself, we suppose, is another variant of the name *Śabda-caturmukha, i.e.,* of Ajitasena himself, as given in the Pārśvanātha basti record mentioned above.

We now come to the ruler Āhavamalla in whose court Ajitasena received the title of *Śabda-caturmukha.* In the Pārśvanātha basti record cited above, the name of the *guru* immediately preceding that of *Śabda-caturmukha-svāmi* is that of Śāntideva who was the *guru* of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya.[3] As we shall point out presently, the state-

1. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 37, p. 142, In Nr. 39 dated about A.D. 1077 Ajitasena *muni* is placed after Vādirāja, obviously in point of spiritual and intellectual greatness, rather than of time. (See *Ibid,* p. 144).
2. *M. A. R.* for *1926*, pp. 49, 51.
3. *E. C.* II, Intr., p. 30.

ment that Śāntideva was the spiritual teacher of king Vinayāditya is borne out by other inscriptions. Since we know that the Hoysala king Vinayāditya ruled from about A.D. 1047 till A.D. 1100,[1] we may definitely assign Śāntideva to the same age, *viz.*, the first half of the eleventh century A.D. From the history of the later Western Cālukyas we know that Āhavamalla was a distinctive *biruda* of two monarchs —king Tailapa Deva II, who ruled from A.D. 973 till A.D. 997,[2] and king Someśvara I, Trailokyamalla, who reigned from A.D. 1042 till A.D. 1068.[3] Of these we have to eliminate king Tailapa Deva II whose leaning towards Jainism we have suggested in the previous pages. We are thus constrained to identify Āhavamalla mentioned in the Parśvanātha basti stone inscription with king Someśvara I, Trailokyamalla, Āhavamalla.

We have now to see whether there is any evidence to prove that king Someśvara I was a Jaina. Two stone inscriptions found in the once great centre of Jainism Kōgaḷī, Bellary district, clearly demonstrate the fact that he was indeed a follower of the *syād vāda* doctrine. One of them is an undated inscription found in the Cenna Pārśva *basti* at Kōgaḷī. It records a gift of land to the same *basti* by the king Trailokyamalla, who was no other than king Someśvara I.[4] The other record was also found there but is dated Śaka 977 (A.D. 1055-6) ; and it registers a gift by the same monarch to the Jaina sage Indrakīrti. We may incidentally observe here that this record informs us that the Cenna Pārśva *basti* was built by king Durvinīta.[5] This could only have been

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 97.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *35 of 1914 ; Rice, My. & Coorg*, p. 74.
5. *37 of 1904.*

the Ganga king of that name about whose benevolence to Jainism we have already given sufficient proof in the previous pages. It was during the reign of king Someśvara I that the earliest Kannaḍa work on astrology called *Jātaka-tilaka* was written in A.D. 1049 by the Jaina priest Śrīdharācārya, who hailed from Narigunda in Beḷuvalanāḍu.[1]

As regards the name Pāṇḍya occurring in the Pārśvanātha basti record, it is not improbable that it is to be identified with that of Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya of the Ucchangi Pāṇḍya line, who was the contemporary of the Western Cālukya kings Jayasimha III and Someśvara I.[2] But until further proof is secured, this will be only a conjecture.

Vādigharaṭṭa mentioned in the above inscription was no other than Vādībhasimha Ajitasena. This is proved by the Grāmadabasti inscription dated A.D. 1103 referred to above, which tells us that Ajitasena Paṇḍita was known as Vādigharaṭṭa, and that he belonged to the Drāviḷa *sangha* and the Arungaḷānvaya.[3]

King Someśvara I's eldest son and successor king Someś-

1. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 59 ; *Kavicarite* I, pp. 75-76.

2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 150. A stone inscription near Bhadrā in Bāḷe-Honnūr, Koppa tāluka, gives us the interesting information that the Śāntara chief Māra was the chief disciple (*agra-śiṣya*) of the great *muni* Vādībhasiṁha Ajitasena, and that the former erected a *niśidhi*, obviously on the death of the Jaina *guru*. This record is undated, but has been assigned to A.D. 1090 by Rice on valid grounds. (*E. C.* VI, Intr., p. 11, Kp. 3, p. 76.) The later Śāntaras bore the title Pāṇḍya (Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 140), but it cannot be made out whether this could be said of Māra as well.

3. *E.C.*, VIII, Tl. 192, p. 205. After Ajitasena's time, the titles *Vādībhasimha*, *Vādikolāhala* and *Tārkkika-cakravarti* became hereditary among the Jaina *gurus*. See *E. C.* V, Cn. 149, p. 191

vara II was likewise a devout Bhavya. According to the Bandaṇikebasti stone inscription dated A.D. 1075, king Someśvara II gave to the priest Kulacandradeva, the disciple of Paramānanda Siddhānta of the Mūla *sangha* and Krāṇūr *gaṇa,* specified land in Nāgarkhaṇḍa, for the Śāntinātha *basti* which Bhara..... cakravarti had newly erected in Nāgarkhaṇḍa, on the specified date. The donee's *guru* Paramānanda is styled as one "who had gone to the farthest shore of the ocean of both *siddhāntas.*"[1]

Among the prominent Western Cālukya monarchs after king Someśvara II mention must be made of a ruler whose identity is now settled with the help of inscriptions. A stone inscription in the Kattalebasti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, assigned to about A.D. 1100, relates the following—that Vāsavacandra, whose intellect was well trained in the argument of the great *syād vāda* doctrine, and who attained celebrity as *Bāḷa-Sarasvatī* in the middle of the Cālukyan court, was the colleague of the lord of the sages of Vankāpura, Devendramunipa.[2]

The king in whose court Vāsavacandra received the title of *Bāḷa-Sarasvatī* has now to be identified. This may be done with the aid of the above Kattalebasti record as well as with that of another stone inscription found in a ruined *basti* at Haḷe Belgoḷa. The Kattalebasti record informs us that Vāsavacandra was a colleague of the following learned Jaina scholars—Prabhācandra, a great grammarian and logician, who was honoured by king Bhoja of Dhārā ; Dāmanandi,

(*Continued from p.* 54.)
where these titles are applied to Śrīpāla Paṇḍita. As mentioned elsewhere in this treatise, the title *Vādībhasimha* was given to the Brahman orator Mādhavabhaṭṭa by the Ganga king Harivarmā,

1. *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 221, p. 131.
2. *Ibid*, II, 69, p. 35.

a great Naiyāyika scholar, who was "a grinding stone to the great disputant the vile Viṣṇubhaṭṭa; Maladhārideva, also called Guṇacandra; Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva, the head of the Vakra *gaccha*, and also a renowned grammarian; Jinacandra, "a Pūjyapāda in the *Jainendra* (grammar), a Bhaṭṭākalanka in the logic of all sects, a Bhāravi in literature, great in poetry, disputation, and eloquence"; Devendra, Yaśahkīrti, who was honoured by the king of Simhaḷa; Trimuṣṭimuni, " a wrestler with wicked hostile disputants, who was content with three fistfuls of food", and who was the disciple of the eminent lord of ascetics Gopanandi; Gaṇḍavimukta Maladhāri Hemacandra, also known as Gauḷamuni, who was likewise a disciple of Gopanandi; and Gauḷadeva Maladhāri, "the destroyer of Cupid".[1]

In the above galactic circle of great Jaina scholars, who belonged to the Vakra *gaccha*, we have the fact of Vāsavacandra's having been a colleague of Gopanandi. Now we know from the Haḷe Belgoḷa stone inscription that Gopanandi, who will figure again presently, lived in A.D. 1094.[2] Hence Vāsavacandra is to be assigned also to the same age. The only Western Cālukya monarch who reigned in this period was the famous Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, who ruled from A.D. 1074 till A.D. 1126.[3] The Cālukyan king referred to in the above Kattalebasti inscription, therefore, was no other than the same monarch.

It has now to be proved that king Vikramāditya VI was himself a Jaina. The Baḍagiyara Hoṇḍa stone inscription hailing from the Shikarpur tāluka, Mysore State, and dated

1. *E. C.* II, 69, p. 35, op. cit. See also *ibid*., Intr. p. 80.
2. *Ibid*., V, Cn. 148, pp. 189-190.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 73.

A.D. 1077, has to be utilized in this connection. According to this interesting record, king Vikramāditya VI, at the request of the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Barmmadeva,—to whom his official Pratikaṇṭha Singayya had petitioned for the same purpose,—made on the specified date (which is given with full details), the gift of the village of Manevane (location given in detail), for the services of the god of the Cālukya-Ganga-Permmānaḍi Jinālaya which he had caused to be made in the royal city of Baḷḷigāve, when he was a prince (*kumāra*), for the offerings, food of the *ṛṣis*, repairs of the *basadi*, and for new works. This gift was made to the learned Jaina *guru* Rāmasena, who was the disciple of Mahāsenavrati, and who was said by all people to be in grammar Pūjyapāda, in logic Akalankadeva, and in poetry Samantabhadra. Rāmasena belonged to the Mūla *sangha*, Sena *gaṇa*, and Pogari *gaccha*.[1]

Two statements made in the above records may be noted here before we pass on to the narration of other details. One made in the Kattalebasti record that Prabhācandra, a colleague of Vasavācandra, was honoured by king Bhoja of Dhārā ; and the other made in the Baḍagiyara Hoṇḍa inscription that Vikramāditya VI was " to the lord Dhārā the source of a great fever of terror."[2] King Bhoja of Dhārā who honoured Prabhācandra, and who was frightened by Vikramāditya (and later on routed) was no other than king Bhoja I, who has become renowned in history as the patron of learning.[3]

From a later context we shall learn that it was the king

1. *E.C.* VII, Sk. 124, pp. 95-96.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
3. Read Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 82, seq., 250 ; *E. C.* II, Intr. p. 80.

Vikramāditya VI who built many *basadis* in the Belvoḷa country.[1]

The Western Cālukya dominion lasted in all six long centuries of glorious history. The rulers of this great House had begun to assert themselves somewhere in the fourth or fifth century A.D. ; and while they were consolidating their conquests in the south-east, their original enemies the Rāṣṭrakūṭas wrested from their hands the north-western portions of the Western Cālukyan Empire. This was in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. For two centuries (eighth till the tenth) the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, themselves of Karnāṭaka stock,[2] had put the Western Cālukyas once again completely in the shade. In A.D. 973, however, the Western Cālukyas once again regained their ascendancy and continued to rule for two centuries more.[3]

But towards the end of the twelfth century A.D., two new powers came to the forefront in the land—one of them thoroughly Karnāṭaka in stock, the Hoysalas, and the other, the Yādavas or Seuṇas, both of whom hemmed in the disputed dominions of the Western Cālukyas, and thereby destroyed the latter who had been for a considerably long time the most potent factor in the annals of Karnāṭaka.[4] Of these new royal families, we are concerned here more with the Hoysalas than with the Yādavas who, after having asserted themselves first in the Seuṇa country in Central India, pushed their power till in the latter half of the

1. See below Chapter VI.
2. Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25 ; see also Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 66, and *ibid.*, n. (1) for a different opinion referred to by Rice, which does not seem to be correct.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 62, seq. 72, seq. 78.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 108 109.

twelfth century A.D. they collided with the Hoysalas, especially in the north-western regions of modern Mysore.[1]

But the Hoysalas never surrendered their sovereignty over Karnāṭaka to their rivals the Yādavas. Originating in the days of despair when the country had witnessed the subversion of the ancient Ganga power by the invincible Rājendra Coḷa I, Gangaikoṇḍa, the great son of a great father, in A.D. 1004,[2] the Hoysalas put forward the greatest claim at the hands of posterity by their expulsion of the Coḷas from the soil of Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1116.[3] Thenceforward the Hoysalas ruled over the country for three centuries, another great example of Karnāṭaka statesmanship and Karnāṭaka valour. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., however, the same danger which had overwhelmed their great rivals the Yādavas in the north now threatened them in the south. This was the Muhammadan menace under the onslaught of which the Hoysalas collapsed not before they had safely handed over the sacred trust of guarding the country's honour to their most magnificent successors—the monarchs of the famous Vijayanagara Empire.

The Hoysala kingdom itself was a second supreme creation of Jaina wisdom, the first having been, as we saw in an earlier connection, that of the Gangas in the days of king Konguṇivarmā I. Twice, therefore, had Jainism, which for ages had stood for *ahiṁsā*, caused political regeneration in the land before the rise of Vijayanagara—once in the first or second century A.D., and, then again, in the eleventh century A.D. It was not merely to get the aid of the State that Jaina sages had helped statesmen to found king-

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 78.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 95 ; Saletore, *The Wild Tribes in Indian History*, pp. 79-80.
3. Rice, *ibid.*, p. 94.

doms ; the various Jaina centres of the south, and especially in Karnāṭaka, possessed some of the most superb intellectual prodigies India had ever produced. These spiritual leaders did not stand in constant need of royal benevolence : their vast congregations, as we shall presently point out in a later context, contained exceedingly wealthy communities which never allowed the Jina *śāsana* to be overtaken by calamity ; and repeatedly Jaina *gurus* appeared to rekindle the smouldering fire of the Jina *dharma*. An explanation of this singular feature of Jainism seems to be that, as we saw at the beginning of this treatise, it was an example of a religion in the pre-Vijayanagara days which demonstrated the importance of the fact of even religious leaders aiding materially the creation of the proper political environment necessary for the resuscitation of the life in the country. It is precisely here that we see the importance of Jainism in the history of India : more than a faith which produced great leaders and writers in philosophy, and admirable men and women in the field of letters ; and much more than a creed which added to the architectural and artistic splendour of India, Jainism was a religion which transmitted through the Hoysala rulers a message to the monarchs of Vijayanagara which these latter kings of the mediæval times, after a brilliant struggle in a period the intensity of which we can hardly now gauge, made the pivot of their existence, thereby opening once again another glorious chapter in the history of India.[1]

The birth-place of the Hoysalas was Sosevur (Skt. Śaśākapura) which Rice had identified with Angaḍi in the south of the Mūḍgere tāluka, Kaḍur district, Mysore State.[2]

1. For a discussion of this point, see Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 243-246.
2. *E. C.* VI, Intr. p. 14.

There is every reason to believe that Angaḍi itself was a stronghold of Jainism in the middle of the tenth century A.D., when the first historical figure in the Hoysala House came into prominence in Karnāṭaka. Two facts may be adduced in support of this statement—the first relates to the death of a Jaina *guru* at Angaḍi in the tenth century A.D., and the second, to the existence of Jaina *basadis* of a date earlier than that of the famous temple of Vāsantikā, the patron deity of the Hoysalas. An undated inscription found at Angaḍi tells us that on Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Maunibhaṭṭāraka of the Drāviḷa *sangha*, Koṇḍakundānvaya, and Pustaka *gaccha*, and the *guru* of Śrimān Iriva Beḍenga, having performed the *saṁnyasana* rites, obtained *mukti*. At this a memorial in honour of the *guru* was set up. Rice assigned this record to about A.D. 998 on the assumption that the name Iriva Beḍenga mentioned in it was that of the Western Cālukya ruler Satyāśraya (A.D. 997 A.D.—1009).[1] We are unable to identify Vimalacandra Paṇḍitadeva mentioned in the above record ; but this inscrip-

1. *E. C.* VI, Intr. p. 13, where the record is dated about A.D. 998 ; but Mg. 11 is dated *circa* A.D. 990 *Ibid*, p. 60. Narasimhacarya is inclined to date it in *circa* A.D. 1000. *M. A. R. for 1917*, p. 7. Rice gives the name of the Jaina *guru* as Traikālamuni in the translation. But the original reads merely Maunibhaṭṭāraka. *Ibid.*, text, p. 242. In a record dated A.D. 1163 a Traikālayogi is mentioned as the disciple of the monarch-monk Gollācārya. He belonged to the Deśiya *gaṇa*, a subdivision of the Nandi *gaṇa* in the Mūla *sangha*...*E. C.* II, 64, p. 17. In another record hailing from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, a Traikālayogi, also of the Mūla *sangha*, is spoken of. *Ibid*, 382, text, p. 171. There is a Mauni Ācārya of the Navilūr *sangha* in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 700. *Ibid.*, 106, p. 44. It cannot be made out with which of the three *gurus* the Maunibhaṭṭāraka of the above record is to be identified.

tion is doubly important : Firstly, it tells us that in Angaḍi there lived a Jaina *guru*, evidently because it was a Jaina centre ; and, secondly, it associates Angaḍi with the Western Cālukyas in a period which saw the emergence of the Hoysalas as a political power.

The other fact concerning Angaḍi is about the antiquity of the Jaina *basadis* of the place. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya has shown that the modern Vasantammā image in the temple at Angaḍi cannot in any way be connected with the Vāsantikā of the Jainas and the early Hoysalas, and that the present goddess has been set up in the place of the original image. The same scholar wrote that at some distance from this temple are two ruined *basadis* standing in a line and facing north. These which contain scarcely any ornamentation in them, represent Hoysala structure of an earlier type.[1] Dr. Krishna supports this view, and opines that the *basadis* may belong to the tenth century A.D., informing us of the name of one of the *basadis*—*Makara Jinālaya*.[2]

Here in Angaḍi happened an incident which has become celebrated in the history of Karnāṭaka. It concerns the activites of a Hoysala chief and a Jaina *guru* in the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The story in brief is the following. In the town of Angaḍi there lived a Jaina *guru* by name Sudatta. On a certain occasion when the Hoysala chief went to worship at the temple of his family goddess Vāsantikādevī at Sosevūru, and when he was being instructed by the Jaina *guru* there, a tiger bounded out of the forest, glaring with rage. The Jaina sage snatching hastily his rod handed it over to the

1. *M. A. R. for 1917*, p. 7.
2. *Ibid for 1929*, pp. 8-9.

chief, and in the language of the latter exclaimed—*poy Sala* (Strike, Sala !). Whereupon Sala hit the tiger and killed it finishing it off perhaps with his dagger. From the rescued Jaina *guru's* exclamation, the chief assumed the name *Poysala* which later on became *Hoysala.*[1]

An examination of some of the most important stone and copper-plate inscriptions ranging from the first quarter of the twelfth to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., reveals a few interesting details which, notwithstanding their divergence, yet enable us to understand the significance of the account concerning the Jaina *guru* and his lay disiciple. In the inscriptions of king Vinayāditya I (...A.D. 1022),[2] and in those of his son and successor Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala (...—A.D. 1047),[3] no mention is made of the above account at all. This need not come in the way of our appreciating it, since the times of these rulers were taken up with their bitter struggle against the Coḷas and the feudatories of the latter, the Kongāḷvas, for

1. Rice, *My & Coorg.*, p. 95. Such feats of courage and physical strength are met with even in our own days. It is reported that Rāmu Jotiba Patil, a villager from Kolhapur, showed his bravery thus—A cowherd Goru Tukaram was grazing his cattle in the forest on the outskirts of the village Savarda, Panhala Mahal, Kolhapur State, in the evening of Sept. 20, 1937. Suddenly a tiger five feet and three inches long, attacked the villager biting at his thigh. Hearing his scream for help, Rāmu Jotiba rushed at it and struck it with an ordinary bamboo stick. The brute turned on Rāmu who at once came to grips with it. The animal was finally killed by the neighbouring villagers who had hurried to the scene with their scythes and axes. Rāmu and Gōru are reported to be making satisfactory progress in the Kolhapur State Hospital. (*The Times of India*, Bombay, Sept. 27th 1937).

2. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 51.

3. *Ibid.*

the hegemony of Karnāṭaka.[1] It is only when we come to the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., when the Hoysala power was very firmly established in the country, and when, as a consequence of their political stability, a spirit of ornateness and robustness revealed itself in literature, and especially in architecture, that we have some details which we may now critically examine with the aid of epigraphs. These are the following—The Jaina sage and his identity, the status of the Hoysala chief, the weapon with which the latter killed the animal, the name of the goddess, and the identity of the animal which was killed.

1. The Jaina Sage.

Excepting one record of the eleventh century A.D., no other inscription of the eleventh and the twelfth century A.D., gives the name of the Jaina sage who helped Sala to found a kingdom. He is called Sudattamunipa in a stone inscription found on the bank of the river Daṇḍāvatī in the Sohrab tāluka, and assigned by Rice to A.D. 1208.[2] Two stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1271 and A.D. 1284 respectively, and both found in the Candraśāle, Beḷḷūr *grāma,* Nāgamangala, tell us that king Sala having brought a certain accomplished *muni* (called in the records merely Siddhamunīndra), established him in the abode of Vāsantikā in the prosperous Śaśapura (*Śrī-sampattiya Śaśapura Vāsantivāsavalli Siddhamunīndram*), and there the *munīndra* was engaged in properly giving instruction to Sala.[3]

1. Read Saletore, *Wild Tribes.*, p. 80 where I made a mistake in asserting that it was the Coḷa general Aprameya who encountered Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala line. This Hoysala ruler should have been, as Narasimhacarya pointed out, king Vinayāditya I. (*M. A. R.* for 1916, p. 51).

2. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 28, p. 5

3. *Ibid.*, IV. Ng. 38 and 39, pp. 122-123; text, pp. 347, 351; Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 95, n. (1).

No credence can be given to the statement made in the above two Candraśāle records that Sala brought the Jaina *guru* and established him in Śaśapura (*i. e.*, Śaśākapura, or Angaḍi), since we definitely know that Angaḍi was already a Jaina centre in the tenth century A. D.

But who was Sudatta and to which congregation did he belong? No epigraph of the twelfth century A. D. gives his full name, and in no list of the spiritual succession of the many Jaina pontificates in the south do we come across the name Sudatta. We may conjecture that he belonged to the Koṇḍakunda lineage to which Vimalacandra, the *guru* of the Western Cālukya ruler Satyāśraya Iṛīva Beḍenga belonged, and may have been his colleague. Our surmise is supported by a stone inscription of the Vijayanagara times, the importance of which we shall describe in the subsequent pages of this treatise. This stone record was found in the Padmāvatī basti at Humcca, Nagar tāluka, and assigned by Rice on valid grounds to A. D. 1530. In this important inscription which contains many details of historical value, after Pūjyapādasvāmi comes Vardhamānasvāmi "by the power of whose learning and spell Hoysala brought into subjection the tiger and ruled the world. Instructors of the kings of the Hoysala line in conduct and learning, Vardhamānayogīndra and others became their *gurus*." In the same record we are told that Vardhamāna belonged to the Nandi *sangha* of the Koṇḍakundānvaya.[1]

This piece of information, notwithstanding its being far removed in time from the age of the Hoysalas, is nevertheless substantiated by an earlier but undated stone inscription belonging to the Āñjaneya temple but now found near the railway station of Sāgarakaṭṭe, Mysore *hobḷi*. It relates

1. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 46, p. 147.

the following—That Śrī Vādirājadeva's disciple Śrī Vardhamānadeva—descended in the line of Śāntimuni, who belonged to the Drāviḷa *sangha,* Arungaḷānvaya, and Nandi *gaṇa,* and who took a prominent part in the Hoysala administration (*Śrī Vardhamāndēvaru Hoysala kārāliyadalu agragaṇyaru*), died by *saṁnyasana,* and that the memorial (*niśidhi*) was set up by his colleague Kamaladeva.[1]

Dr. Krishna, who has edited this inscription in his *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for 1929,* assigned it on palæographical grounds to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D., and remarked that it may belong to the reign of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya or to that of Viṣṇuvardhana. He rightly identified Vādirāja mentioned in the above record with the famous contemporary of king Jayasimha III, about whom we have written a few details in the previous pages. But Dr. Krishna's inference that Vardhamānadeva lived in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. in the reign of king Vinayāditya whom he helped in the government of his kingdom,[2] is not borne out by the evidence of numerous stone inscriptions of that monarch which, as will be stated at once, mention an altogether different Jaina priest as the *guru* of that Hoysala monarch.

One detail about one of the *gurus* mentioned in the above record needs some explanation. It is about Śāntimuni. Vādiraja is said to have been born in the line of Śāntimuni (*Śāntimunigaḷa śiṣya santati Śrī Vādirājadēvara*). Hence Śāntimuni was far removed from Vādirāja. This *guru* cannot be definitely identified, but it is not improbable

1. *M. A. R. for 1929,* pp. 108-109. Vardhamānasvāmi mentioned here was not the same as his namesake spoken of in a record of A.D. 1265 of the reign of king Narasimha III. See below.

2. *M. A. R. for 1929,* p. 109.

that, as related in one of the Pārśvanātha basti records found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and assigned on palæographical grounds to *circa* A. D. 650, he may have been the same Śāntimuni who is described in that epigraph as "coral lipped", and as one "who renovated" the Jaina religion, "when the faith, which had greatly prospered at the time when the pair of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta shed lustre on it, became afterwards a little weak."[1] If this identification is accepted, Śantimuni may indeed have lived ages before Vādirāja.

Whatever our difficulty in identifying Śāntimuni, there is no doubt that Vardhamānadeva was the disciple of Vādirāja. Since we know that the latter lived in the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., we may legitimately assign his disciple Vardhamāna also to the same age. This admirably fits in with the date we have given to Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House, and his preceptor Sudatta (*i.e.* Vardhamāna himself), *viz.*, the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The phrase *Hoysala kārāliyadalu* applied to Sudatta Vardhamāna would, then, have to be interpreted in the sense that that *guru* was the chief person in the administration not only of the founder of the Hoysala line but also of his son and successor Vinayāditya I, and of the latter's successor Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala. If Vardhamāna had only aided Poysala in founding the royal House, that fact would have been expressed, as in the case of the illustrious Simhanandi Ācārya, thus—that Vardhamānadeva had merely created (*māḍida*) the kingdom. But it was because Sudatta Vardhamāna stabilized the Hoysala government in the reigns probabaly of three successive rulers that the phrase *Hoysala kārāliyadalu agragaṇyaru* is

1. *E. C.* II, 31, p. 7.

applied to him in the Sāgarakaṭṭe record. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the reigns of all the first three Hoysala rulers—Poysala, Vinayāditya I, and Nṛpa Kāma—were shortlived. There is nothing strange that like the life of many an ascetic of India, and like that of many Jaina *gurus* as well, that of Vardhamānadeva, while it may have run into that of Vādirāja, may have, at the same time, covered that of the first three Hoysalas kings also. Whatever that may be, the fact that Vardhamānadeva had helped the continuance of the Hoysala rule in its early stages alone seems to be responsible for the deep-laid devotion which the Hoysala kings from Nṛpa Kāma onwards showed for the Jina *dharma* in their great Empire.

2. *The Status of the chief Sala.*

We have elsewhere shown that Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House, belonged to the race of hill tribes of Karnāṭaka.[1] The age in which Poysala appeared was one of humiliation to Karnāṭaka. As related above, it was the time of the Coḷa conquest of Gangavāḍi. The Ganga kingdom had been the creation of Jaina intellect. It is but natural that now when in the latter half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A.D., the last remnant of Ganga rule had been wiped out by foreigners, Jaina wisdom should have again devised ways and means of rejuvenating political life in the country without which "renovation" of the Jina *dharma* would not have been lasting and great.

There is no doubt Poysala was already a chieftain when he approached Sudatta Vardhamāna for aid. All accounts concerning him confirm this. Here we may be permitted to discuss the importance of his name, since it helps us to

1. Saletore, *Wild Tribes.*, pp. 79 seq.

understand the part played by the Jaina *guru*. Rice wrote that the name Poysala occurred in a record of A.D. 1006 at Kaliūr, on the opposite side of the river to Talakād.[1] But the late Mr. Narasimhacarya discovered a stone inscription at Hosahaḷḷi near Maraḷe, Chikamagaḷūr tāluka, of the time of the Noḷamba king Aṇṇiga. In this undated record it is related that Arakella's son, distinguished by the title *Sāmanta Rāma* and *Nanni Kandarpa*, and his grandson Poysaḷamāruga, fought with Aṇṇiga at Sirivura and fell, at which a certain Gāvuṇḍa (named) by order of Arakella (with titles) attacked Aṇṇiga Mahārāja but also fell. Then Arakella gave a grant to the relatives of the Gāvuṇḍa.

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified Arakella mentioned above with Śrī Arakella spoken of in a damaged record found also at Moraḷe,[2] and Aṇṇiga, with Aṇṇiga, Bīra Noḷamba, the eldest son of Ayyappa; and rightly said that the above Hosahaḷḷi record may be dated to *circa* A.D. 950.[3] Dr. Krishna while re-editing the Hosahaḷḷi record, confirms the date given to it by Mr. Narasimhacharya.[4]

Are we to identify Poysaḷamāruga mentioned above with Poysala, the founder of the Hoysala House? The answer is in the negative, but this does not mean that we have to discredit the account of Sudatta Vardhamāna and Poysala.[5]

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 95; *E. C.* III. Tn. 44.
2. *E. C.* VI. Ck. 138, p. 221.
3. *M. A. R.* for 1916 pp. 46-51.
4. *Ibid. for 1932*, p. 201.
5. This error is committed by Mr. Hayavadana Rao who calls Sala "the mythical founder of the Hoysala dynasty. As Romulus was to the Romans, so was Sala to the Hoysalas." He styles Sala "the eponymous hero Sala." And he confounds Poysala who fought against General Aprameya with "certain Poysala leaders." *Mysore Gazetteer*, II, P. II, pp. 1312-1313.

On the other hand, the fact of the name Poysala occurring in a record in the neighbourhood of Talakāḍ, the capital of the Gangas, and of the matrimonial alliance between a feudatory chief and a Poysala strongly suggests that the Hoysalas in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. were somehow associated with the ancient capital of the Gangas; and that by that time members of the Hoysala family had already made themselves prominent by taking part in the political struggle of the age.[1] It is because of this that we find one member of the Hoysala family connected with the feudatory chief Arakella. Further, it was perhaps to test the ability of another member of that same family that the Jaina *guru* at Angaḍi caused a tiger to bound forth from the adjoining forest. Sudatta Vardhamāna had to satisfy himself that his lay disciple Sala had the grit in him to carve out a principality in the same manner Simhanandi Ācārya had to be sure that Konguṇivarmā had the strength to build a kingdom. In both instances, the lay disciples had to do physical feats of extraordinary strength in order to win the support and guidance of their Jaina *gurus* : Poysala had to kill an animal, and Konguṇivarmā had to cut down a huge stone pillar with a single blow.

The chief Sala, therefore, dropped his earlier name-which is unfortunately not known to us for the present—and assumed the name *Poy Sala* ! (Strike Sala !) arising out of the circumstance of his having killed an animal. Ever after this incident both he and his relatives must have adopted this name because of the great prominence into which he came after the performance of the remarkable deed, in about

1. The name Poysala was so great that even ordinary citizens used to prefix it to their names. For instance, in A.D. 1101 a Gauḍa called himself Poysala Gauḍa. *E. C. V*. Bl. 141,p. 93.

the latter part of the tenth century A.D. This may account for the following related in the Keśava temple stone inscription found at Honnāvara, Hassan tāluka, and dated A.D. 1123 :— " In that Yaduvaṁśa a king named Sala was hunting along the slopes of the Sahya mountains when in a certain place a tiger bounded out to devour a *muni* who was there doing penance. That *muni* in order to test his bravery, said *poy Sala,* on which he immediately killed the tiger with his dagger. The *muni* being pleased, conferred on him the tiger as a victorious crest and that exclamation as a victorious name."[1] Hence *Poy Sala* was merely a name of victory (*ī pesare vijayanāmam*) which that chief adopted after the incident.[2] The Daṇḍāvatī river stone inscription cited above, affirms that Sudatta desired to give Sala the chief place in the world, and hence made the goddess Padmāvati appear as a tiger whereupon the chief striking it, displayed his courage.[3]

3. *The weapon with which Sala killed the animal.*

Here there is a diversity in the accounts. Some versions of the story give it as a dagger ; others, as that dated A.D. 1173, call it a cane (*betta*), or a cane rod (*bettada seḷe*), as in about A. D. 1220, or merely *seḷe* (*Muni's* rod) as in *circa* A.D. 1208, or a *kuñcada seḷe* (or the rod of the *yogi's* fan), which is really a bunch of peacock's feathers, as

1. *E. C.*, V.Hn. 65, pp. 18-19.

2. *Ibid.*, Hn. 116, dated A.D. 1123, p. 33, *Ibid.*, II. 132, p. 58 ; *ibid.*, V. Bl. 171 of *circa* A.D. 1160, p. 100 where the exclamation *adam poy Sala* (hit it, Sala !) is given in full, and the interesting detail is added that before the tiger could step again, Sala had killed it. It may be remembered here that Angaḍi is on the slopes of the Western Ghats.

3. *Ibid,* VIII, Sb. 28, p. 5.

in A.D. 1255, or *śalāki* (or an iron rod, *i.e.* a wooden stick as hard as iron), as in A.D. 1261.[1]

4. *The name of the goddess.*

In this detail too the accounts differ. While most of the inscriptions give the name of the goddess as Vāsantikā, a few give it as Padmāvatī.[2]

5. *The animal that was killed.*

This is another detail about which there is no unanimity in the epigraphs. For instance, in A.D. 1123, 1173, *circa* 1208, *circa* 1220, and 1234, it is called *śārdūlam,* but in the other records it is called *puli*[3] (tiger). The former (*śārdūlam*) seems to be correct, and the latter, inadmissible. The numerous sculptures depicting this animal on stone inscriptions and on temple walls in Karnāṭaka confirm this opinion.[4]

1. *E. C.* V, Ak. 71, p. 138, Bl. 112, p. 71 ; Cf. Ak. 82, of *A.D.* 1234, p. 143 ; VIII. Sb. 28, p. 5 ; V. Ak. 108, p. 156 ; Bl. 74, p. 61.

2. *Ibid.,* VIII, Sb. 28, p. 5. Is it possible that this is the same goddess who appears so prominently in connection with the Śāntaras? It may be that Padmāvatī was only a Hinduized form of a Buddhist goddess of the Mahāyāna school, after she had passed through a period in the Jaina religion. This may account for the fact that Padmāvatī is associated with alchemy and such other arts. It is perhaps this Buddhist touch which is responsible for the introduction of the element of incantation in the story, as in A.D. 1173. (*E. C.* V. Ak. 71, p. 138. If these suggestions should lead one to further inquiry, perhaps one may discover at a future date that Angaḍi itself was a Buddhist centre before it passed into the hands of the Jainas !

3. *E. C.* V, Hn. 116, p. 33 ; Bl. 112, p. 71 ; Ak. 71, p. 138, Ak. 82 p. 113 ; VIII, Sb. 28, p. 5.

4. Two scholars have independently arrived at this conclusion, and they give the significance of the Hoysala leader Sala killing the

With whatever scepticism the above story relating to the founder of the Hoysala House and his Jaina adviser is viewed, there is no denying the fact that the successors of Sala, especially from king Vinayāditya I onwards, gave unstinted patronage to the Jina *dharma,* even when one of them became a convert into Vaiṣṇavism and thereby undermined the influence of Jainism as State religion in Karnāṭaka. We have seen that the first three Hoysala rulers Sala, the founder, his son Vinayāditya I, and the latter's successor Nṛpa Kāma, were under the spiritual guidance of Sudatta Vardhamāna ; and that it was this fact which was responsible for the statement made in the Sāgarakaṭṭe stone inscription that that Jaina *guru* took a prominent part in the administration of the Hoysalas.

The *guru* of king Vinayāditya II was Śāntideva. This is proved from two stone inscriptions. One of them is the Pārśvanātha basti record found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated A.D. 1129. This inscription which we have already cited describes Śāntideva thus—" Who is able to describe ' such and such ' the ability of the ascetic Śāntideva, having worshipped whose pair of feet, the Poysala king Vinayāditya brought the goddess of wealth to the territory under his rule ? "[1]

Śāntideva belonged to the same congregation to which

(*Continued from p. 72*)
animal. They say that it represents the Kadamba lion which was killed by Sala. R. N. Saletore, *Vijayanagara* Art (unpublished Ms.) pp. 477-8 ; George Moraes, *Kadamba-kula,* p. 378. For further notices on the Hoysala origin, read *Kavicarite,* I. pp. 332, 371. *E. C. V.* Intr. pp. 9-10, where Rice has summarized various accounts ; *ibid,* XII, Tp. 42, dated A.D. 1229, p. 50 ; *ibid.,* V, Hn. 84 of *circa* A.D. 1230, p. 126 ; *ibid.,* IX, Bn. 6 dated A.D. 1253, p. 3 where a very intelligent account of Sala and the *śāradūla* is given ; *ibid.* XII, Tp. 40, of A.D. 1286, p. 49 ; *My. and Coorg,* p. 95, etc.

1. *E C.* II, 67, p. 30.

the illustrious Ajitasena was attached, for, as we have already seen, the latter is mentioned immediately next to Śāntideva under the title of *Svāmi* and *Śabda-caturmukha.* Śāntideva died in A.D. 1062, as is proved by the damaged stone inscription found at Angaḍi and dated in that year. This epigraph informs us that king Vinayāditya Poysala's *guru* Śāntideva having performed the rites of *saṁnyasana,* as a reward of his faith attained to the realm of *nirvāṇa.* The king and the company of townsmen (*dēvaru śrīmatu sa......ra nakara samūha tamma gurugaḷge*) erected the monument for the departure of their *guru* Śāntideva.[1] The evidence of this inscription may be utilized to show that Śāntideva had indeed become a sort of a national preceptor in the days of king Vinayāditya II.

What king Vinayāditya did as a Jaina, obviously on the advice of his *guru,* is described in a stone record found in the Gandhavāraṇa basti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and dated A.D. 1131. King Vinayāditya "gladly made any number of tanks and temples, any number of Jaina shrines, any number of *nāḍus,* villages, and subjects. When it is said that king Vinayāditya Poysala alone excelled the celebrated Balīndra, who can praise the greatness of that profound and brave king? The pits dug for bricks became tanks, the great mountains quarried for stone became level with the ground, the roads by which the mortar carts passed became ravines—thus did Poysala cause Jina temples (*Jinarāja geham*) to be erected."[2]

True to the liberal spirit which has always marked Karnāṭaka monarchs throughout history, king Vinayāditya II extended his patronage to other Jaina leaders as well. A

1. *E. C.* VI, Mg. 17, pp. 61, 245.
2. *Ibid.,* II, 143, pp. 70-71.

damaged stone inscription at Toḷaḷu, Belūr hobli, Hassan district, dated A.D. 1062, commemorates the gift of some land on the holy occasion of Uttarāyaṇa Sankramaṇa, by the same king to the Jaina *guru* Abhayacandra of Beḷave. The latter belonged to the Mūla *sangha* and to the spiritual lineage which claimed Gautama, Bhadrabāhu, Puṣpadanta and Meghacandra as its own.[1]

Another stone inscription dated A.D. 1069 illustrates the care with which king Vinayāditya II looked after Jaina interests. It was found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Mattāvara, Chickmagaḷūr tāluka, and it relates the following—That the king who previous to the specified date had a channel turned and brought to the village of Mattara (*i.e.*, Mattāvara), was now pleased to visit that village again. And on that occasion he went to the *basadi* on the hill, and seeing the god there, asked (the people) "Why have you built the *basadi* on the hill (outside) instead of building it inside the village?" To this Māṇikaśeṭṭi replied respectfully—"We beg of your Lordship to build a *basadi* within the village and richly endow it with wealth and privileges. We are poor but there is no limit to your wealth. Your wealth is equal in quantity to the paddy grains grown by the hill chiefs."

The king pleased with the speech of Māṇikaśeṭṭi, smiled and said "Very well," and had the *basadi* built inside the village. He first got Māṇikaśeṭṭi and other leaders of the town (named) to give specified land to the *basadi*, and he himself granted for the *basadi* at Mattāvara paddy income (specified) of the village of Nāḍali. Moreover, the king ordered several houses to be constructed near the *basadi*,

1. *M. A. R.* for 1927, pp. 43-44 Abhayacandra's identity cannot be determined.

giving the village the name of Ṛṣihaḷḷi, and finally remitted many (specified) village taxes on its behalf.[1]

King Vinayāditya II was succeeded by his son Ereyanga, who had seen State service under the former as a *yuvarāja.* Since we know definitely that king Vinayāditya's rule lasted till A.D. 1101,[2] we have to assume with Rice that king Ereyanga ruled in conjunction with his father, and that Ereyanga must have died before his father.[3]

This difficulty in determining the dates of Ereyanga's rule need not hinder us from bringing to the forefront his Jaina *guru* Gopanandi. A stone inscription at Haḷe Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1094 informs us that that *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara's guru* was Gopanandi about whom it gives the following details—That Gopanandi was the head of the Deśiya *gaṇa,* Mūla *sangha,* and Koṇḍakundānvaya. His preceptor was Caturmukhadeva. "The celebrated Gopanandi accomplished what had been impossible for any one; for he caused the Jina *dharma* which had for a long time been at standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the time of the Ganga kings." His qualifications and achievements are graphically described thus—He was like an infuriated elephant to the Sānkhya, Bhautika, Bauddha, Vaiṣṇava, and Cārvvāka professors. While Jaimini bolted, Vaiśeṣika turning round fled, Sugata (Buddha) instead of running beat his breast, Akṣapāda with affection came near, Lokāyata attempted to leave, and Sānkhya pushed away—Gopanandi, a lusty elephant like the elephants at the points of the compass, roamed through the paths of the six schools of logic.

1. *M. A. R. for 1932,* pp. 172-174. Dr. Krishna while re-editing it dates it in A.D. 1069. But the late Mr. Narasimhacarya dated it in A.D. 1077. *M.A.R. for 1916,* pp. 51-52.

2. *E. C.* V, Bl. 141, p. 93.

3. Rice, *My. & Coorg.,* p. 98.

To this great Jaina logician, Tribhuvanamalla Ereyanga, while ruling the Gangamaṇḍala, granted Rācanahaḷḷa and the Belgoḷa 12 for the repairs of the *basadis* of the Kalbappu *tirtha* (of Belgoḷa).[1] Since the king was ruling the Gangavāḍi, and since the royal endowment affected all the *basadis* in the holy place round the Kalbappu hill (*i.e.*, Kaṭavapra or Candragiri) at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, it is said in the epigraph that Gopanandi caused the Jina *dharma* to prosper through the wealth of the Ganga kings. We know that by this time the Ganga rule had disappeared; yet the benevolent precedent set up by the Gangas could never be obliterated from the mind of either the Jainas or the Karnāṭaka monarchs.[2]

In an earlier context we have had an occasion to describe all the celebrated colleagues of Gopanandi, as given in the Kattalebasti record dated about A.D. 1100. This inscription, we may incidentally add, repeats the praise given to Gopanandi in the record dated A.D. 1094, and tells us that he "caused the Jaina religion, which had for a long time been at a stand-still, to attain the prosperity and fame of the Ganga kings,"[3] thereby confirming the importance of that *guru* in the history of Jainism.

King Ballāḷa I, the eldest son of king Ereyanga, succeeded

1. *E. C. V*, Cn. 148, pp. 189-190.
2. On Kaṭavapra, read *Ibid.*, II, Intr. p. 4, seq.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 69, pp. 34-35. In a record dated A.D. 1136, it is said that "the *guru* of the head-jewel of the Yādava race, Ereyanga Deva, considered the *jagad-guru*, was Ajitasenasvāmi." (*E. C.* V, Bl 17, p. 51) Rice accepts this statement. (*E. C.* VI, Intr., p. 11). We know that Ereyanga ruled as a *yuvarāja* from A.D. 1063 till A.D. 1095. It cannot be made out how far the statement of the record dated A.D. 1136 regarding Ereyanga and Ajitasena is correct. Perhaps it may not be wrong to assume that on the death of Gopanandi, Ajitasena may have become the *guru* of Ereyanga. This requires confirmation.

the lattter and ruled from A.D. 1100 till A.D. 1106. The *guru* of this ruler was Cārukīrtimuni. Two stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1398 and A.D. 1432 respectively prove this. These are the Siddheśvara basti records of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, which will be styled here the I and II of that name. The I. Siddheśvara basti inscription dated A.D. 1398 relates the following about Cārukīrti Paṇḍitadeva. He was the disciple of Śrutakīrtideva, a great disputant, and an " accomplisher of everything that had to be accomplished ". This remarkable *guru* (Cārukīrti Paṇḍitadeva) was proficient in medicine as well. The same inscription continues to narrate the following—When king Ballāḷa, encloser of the forces of strong (enemies), terrifier in war by his cavalry, was verily in a moribund condition through severe illness, he quickly restored him to health.[1] The II Siddheśvara basti inscription dated A.D. 1432 repeats the praise given to him in the earlier record, adding that he was " a moon in increasing the volume of the ocean of grammar," and that he " published to the world the *Sāra-traya,* as also the science of logic ". " Even the air that had but touched his body cured disease ; was it much (then) that his medicine cured king Ballāḷa of his disease ? "[2]

The short-lived reign of king Ballāḷa I was followed by that of one of the most brilliant monarchs of Karnāṭaka. This was the famous Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva, whose initial year is still a matter of dispute. King Viṣṇuvardhana was the liberator of Karnāṭaka from the Coḷa dominion. Many of the notable victories which marked his rule were won by his great Jaina generals about whom we shall give a few details in the next chapter. King Viṣṇuvar-

1. *E. C.* II, 254, p. 113.
2. *Ibid.*, 258, p. 118.

dhana's reign was also important because of an event which had a profound effect on the whole history of Jainism in Karnāṭaka and southern India. This was his conversion from Jainism into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great Ācārya Rāmānuja who, to escape persecution at the hands of a Coḷa king, had taken refuge in the Hoysaḷa country. Rice placed this event before A.D. 1116, and attributed the series of extensive conquests to the new religion which king Viṣṇu had embraced.[1]

Without entering into any discussion of this assertion of Rice, we may merely note that the Jaina propensity in the Hoysala mind was so great, and the memory of the indebtedness of the Hoysala rulers to Jaina intellect so profound, that even so late as A.D. 1125 king Viṣṇuvardhana showed his devotion to a Jaina *guru* named Śrīpāla Traividyavrati whose praise is described in the Bairadeva temple stone inscription dated in that year and found at Calya, Chāmarājapaṭṭana tāluka. In this record it is said that that Hoysala monarch—whose victories, by the way, over Adiyama, the Pallava Nṛsimhavarmā, the Kongas, Kalapāla, and the ruler of Angara are mentioned,—caused to be made with devotion the Jaina abode at Calya. The donee is called a Ṣaṇmukha of the six schools of logic, a great disputant, bearing the hereditary titles of *Vādībhasimha*, *Vādīkolāhala*, and *Tārkkika-cakravarti*, and the promoter of his *gaṇa*. To this learned Jaina sage king Viṣṇu gave the village at Śalya (Calya) with suitable donations for the repairs of the *basadi* and for the maintenance of the Jaina *ṛṣis*.[2] Another stone inscription at Belūr dated A.D. 1129

1. Rice, *My. and Coorg*, p. 99.
2. *E. C.* V. Cn. 149, pp. 190-191. The Pārśvanātha basti record of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, however, places Śrīpāla before Matisā-

commemorates a gift to the *basadi* named Malli *Jinālaya* by the same monarch.[1] This record, therefore, confirms the view that king Viṣṇu was a devout Jaina even in A.D. 1129. Indeed, there is one more record which adds to the testimony that king Viṣṇu, whatever his patronage to Vaiṣṇavism may have been, continued till the end of his rule, to be a pious Bhavya. This inscription is the Pārśvanātha basti record hailing from Bastihaḷḷi, near Haḷebīḍ (*i.e.*, Dorasamudra itself) and dated A.D. 1133. In connection with a famous Jaina temple in the Hoysala capital built by one of the many great Jaina generals of king Viṣṇu, it relates that the latter christened his son prince Vijaya Narasimhadeva after the god Vijaya Pārśvadeva, and granted the village of Jāvagal for a *Jinālaya* in the capital Dorasamudra which we shall describe in a later context.[2]

King Narasimha I who had been crowned from the day of his birth, ascended the throne on the death of his illustrious father king Viṣṇu in A.D. 1141.[3] The greatness of the Hoysala Empire was now maintained more by the reputation of the famous Viṣṇuvardhana Deva and the loyalty of his generals rather than by any military prowess or political sagacity on the part of king Narasimha.[4] One of the most capable generals of the age was the Jaina commander Huḷḷa whose intense devotion to the Jina *dharma*, which we shall describe in detail presently, was, we may

gara who was the *guru* of Vādirāja. It says that Śrīpāla, though an expositor of all sciences, accepted also the title *Traividya* (versed in the three sciences of grammar, logic, and philosophy). (*E. C.* II, 67, p. 28.) How Śrīpāla came to be assigned to this age cannot be made out.

1. *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 43.
2. *E. C.* V, Bl. 124, p. 83.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 101.
4. *Ibid.*

well assume, in no small measure responsible for the piety which king Narasimha showed to the Jaina religion. A stone inscription in the Bhaṇḍārabasti at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1159, asserts that this king while on "an expedition for the conquest of the regions", ascended the mountain Vindhyagiri (at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa), bowed to the lord Gommaṭeśvara, saw the Caturviṁśati *basadi* erected by his great general Huḷḷa, and "lovingly bestowed upon it the second name of *Bhavya-cūḍāmaṇī* after Huḷḷa's title *Samyuktva-cūḍāmaṇī*." And for the maintenance of this splendid temple the monarch granted the village of Savanēru.[1] This is repeated in another record found at the same place and dated in the same year.[2] But beyond this the pleasure-seeking king Narasimha did nothing for the cause of Jainism.[3]

His son was the famous Ballāḷa II, or Vīra Ballāḷa I, who ruled from A.D. 1173 till A.D. 1220. Once again Hoysala arms, as in the reign of the great king Viṣṇu, spread far and wide, and once again did the Hoysala monarch show marked favour to the *syād vāda* doctrine. King Ballāḷa II's spiritual *guru* was Śrīpāladeva's disciple Vasupūjyavrati of the Arungaḷānvaya and the Nandi *sangha*. We learn this from a stone record dated A.D. 1169.[4] Two inscriptions dated A.D. 1174 and A.D. 1175 register the confirmation of the gift of Savanēru made by king Narasimha, by king Ballāḷa II along with the gift of two villages at Bekka and Kaggere. This was done at the request of General Huḷḷa.[5]

1. *E. C.* II, 349, pp. 153-154.
2. *Ibid.*, 345, p. 149.
3. Read, Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 102.
4. *E. C.* V, Ak. 1, p. 112.
5. *Ibid.*, Cn. 146, p. 189; II, 240, p. 103.

But king Ballāḷa II acceded as much to the request of his generals as to those of his citizens, when the question of the Jina *dharma* was concerned. A damaged stone inscription in the Āñjaneya temple at Kalasāpura, Kaḍūr district, dated A.D. 1176, describes the construction of a Jaina temple (in Dorasamudra?) called Vīra Ballāḷa *Jinālaya* by a rich merchant named Deviśeṭṭi, at the request of his teacher Bālacandramuni of the Deśika *gaccha* and the Mūla *sangha.* The king at the request of Deviśeṭṭi, for the service of the *basadi* and the priests, and also for meeting the expenses of repairs, granted some villages and tolls (specified).[1]

It is not surprising that under such a benevolent monarch the capital Dorasamudra itself should have continued to be a stronghold of Jainism. We shall see that in the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana this well known city had already enjoyed the reputation of being a centre of the Bhavyas, chiefly due to the exertions of some of his most remarkable Jaina generals. That under king Ballāḷa II the influence of Jainism in the capital did not in any way diminish is proved by the Nañjedevaraguḍḍa stone inscription found in Sompūr, Hassan district, and dated A.D. 1192. How powerful was the influence of the Jaina *guru* Śripāladeva is also seen from this record which enumerates the following—That in the capital Dorasamudra, respected throughout the kingdom, was the illustrious *Vādībhasimha, Tārkkika-cakravarti,* Śripāla Traividyadeva and his disciples Māriśeṭṭi, Kāmiśeṭṭi, Bharatiśeṭṭi, and Rājaśeṭṭi. These four commercial magnates together with the merchants from all countries and citizens caused to be erected in Dorasamudra a fine *Jinālaya* of the god Abhinava Śāntināthadeva, called Nagarajinālaya.

1. *M. A. R.* for 1923, pp. 39-40.

The remarkable spirit of mutual confidence and respect which characterized the actions of Karnāṭaka monarchs and citizens in those days is seen in the same epigraph which, after narrating that Śripāladeva's *guru* was Malliṣeṇa Maladhāri, descended in the illustrious line of Bhadrabāhu in the Irungulānvaya and the Nandi *sangha*, relates thus— That while the Kumāra (prince, evidently Rājaśeṭṭi) with all the *Prabhu-gāvuṇḍas* and the *Nāḍ-gāvuṇḍas* was on a visit to the illustrious Pratāpa-Cakravarti Vīra Ballāḷadeva, he (the ruler) was pleased to see the eight-fold worship and free distribution of food to ascetics in the temple of the god Abhinava Śāntināthadeva. On this occasion the king, acting in accordance with the unanimous prayers of the *Nāḍgāvuṇḍas* made a gift of the villages of Muccuṇḍi and Kaḍalahaḷḷi (location specified) to the *guru* Vajranandi Siddhāntadeva on the date specified, for the repairs of the *basti* and the free gifts of food to the ascetics.[1]

After a series of political events of exceptional importance, the history of the Hoysalas rapidly moved to its close. The first step in this direction was the division of the Hoysala Empire in A.D. 1245 on the death of king Someśvara, the grandson of king Ballāḷa II. The ancestral part of the ancient Karnāṭaka Empire with its capital at Dorasamudra fell to the share of king Narasimha III, the son of king Someśvara by his queen Bijjala Rāṇi; while the Tamil districts in the south together with the Kolār province were given to king Rāmanātha, another son of king Someśvara by his queen Devaḷa Devī.[2] Both these rulers—Narasimha III and Rāmanātha—were devout Jainas.

1. *M. A. R. for 1926*, pp. 50-51. Dr. Shama Sastry writes that all vestiges of Jaina worship have disappeared on the hill where only Śiva worship is conducted now.

2. Rice, *My, & Coorg*, p. 106.

About king Narasimha III's piety as a Jaina we have evidence in the Pārśvanātha basti stone record found at Bastihaḷḷi near Haḷebīḍ. This epigraph dated A.D. 1254 informs us that king Narasimha III having paid a visit to the Vijaya Pārśva basadi at Dorasamudra built by General Boppa, made an offering to the god, saw the former *śāsana* of the *basadi* and read the genealogy of his line. The king repaired an enclosure to the land presented to the god in the *śāsana* by (his?) brother-in-law Padmi Deva, and made it over to the god of the *basadi*.[1] This temple which king Narasimha now visited was the same temple which king Viṣṇu had visited in A.D. 1133, and about which some interesting details will be mentioned in the next chapter. One year later on February the 25th A.D. 1255, when the king was just fifteen years old, on the occasion of his *upanayanam* ceremony, certain specified grants were made by him for the same temple, to provide offerings to the god Vijaya Pārśva.[2]

The spiritual adviser of this king was Māghanandi Siddhānta of the Balātkāra *gaṇa*. This is gathered from the Beṇṇeguḍḍa stone inscription at Haḷebīḍ dated A.D. 1265, and the Nagara Jinālaya inscription at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1282. Of these the former is important because of the many details it contains about the Jaina *gurus* of the Balātkāra *gaṇa* attached to the Mūla *sangha*. It enumerates the names of many *gurus* like Vardhamāna and others who were the spiritual leaders of the Hoysala kings, and informs us that Māghanandi was the disciple of Kumudenduyogi. Māghanandi was the author of the four modern *sāras* (*abhinava-sāra-catuṣṭaya*), namely, *Siddhāntasāra*, *Śrāvakācārasāra*, *Padārthasāra*, and

1. *E. C.* V, Bl. 125, p. 84.
2. *Ibid.*, Bl. 126, p. 84.

Śāstrasārasamuccaya. Māghanandi was the *guru* of Kumudacandra Paṇḍita, who was also master of the four kinds of learning and a great debator.

To Māghanandi king Narasimha on the specified date granted Kallangere (location given) together with fourteen hamlets (named) attached to it, for maintaining the Jaina temple called Trikūṭa-ratnatraya-Śāntinātha-Jinālaya. This grant was made by the king in Kali-Hoysala-Jinālaya, and the temple which was endowed by him was also called Trikūṭa-ratnatraya-Nrsimha-Jinālaya, obviously as mark of esteem and loyalty to the king. It may also be observed here that this charity was established with the help of the *Mahāpradhāna* (with other titles) Someya Daṇḍanāyaka; and the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra granted specified money contributions and land for the consecration of the image of Śāntinātha.[1]

The Nagara Jinālaya stone inscription of A.D. 1282 is more explicit in regard to the official status of Māghanandi. He is styled in this record *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya,* best of Ācāryas, royal *guru* to the Hoysala king, and the emperor of philosophers.[2] Since king Narasimha's reign lasted from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1291,[3] the reference here can be only to that ruler.

King Narasimha's great rival was his own brother king Rāmanātha, who ruled from A.D. 1254 till A.D. 1297,[4] from his capital Kaṇṇanūr (Vikramapura).[5] Two undated inscriptions of king Rāmanātha found in the great Jaina

1. *M. A. R. for 1911,* p. 49.
2. *E. C.,* II, 334, pp. 141-142.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg.,* p. 97.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *E. C.* V, Intr. p. 26.

centre Kōgaḷī, prove that he was a pious Jaina. These two records refer to the gifts of gold which he made for the god Cenna Pārśva at Kōgaḷī.[1]

While we have ample proof to show that Jainism still predominated in Karnāṭaka in the reign of the next and the last great Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāḷa III, we are unable to determine how far he himself came under the influence of that religion. We shall see that there were profound causes for this apparent indifference to the *syād vāda* doctrine on the part of this remarkable ruler.

1. *33 and 34 of 1904*; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I, pp. 192-193.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCELY PATRONAGE

Ganga feudatories of the Pasiṇḍi family—The Nirgunda Rāja—The Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory Cāki Rāja—The Cellapatāka nobleman Lokāditya—The Śāntara lords—The Kongāḷvas—The Cangāḷvas—Gollācārya—The Śilahāras of Karhāḍ—The Raṭṭas of Saunḍatti—The nobles of Nāgarakhaṇḍa—Kūci Rāja, a Yādava noble.

THE royal precedent of fostering Jainism having been thus set from early ages, there was nothing surprising in the nobles of Karṇāṭaka having taken to a similar liberal attitude towards it in their own provincial governments. From the eighth century A.D. onwards till the end of the thirteenth century, every attempt was made by the feudatories of the Karnāṭaka monarchs to add to the strength of the Jina *dharma.* This had a most salutary effect on the people, and, as we shall presently see, it was partly responsible for the wide support which Jainism received from all quarters.

The earliest example of feudatories who were devout Bhavyas is that of a branch of the ancient Ganga family itself. The Narasimharājapura plates of the Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa already referred to in an earlier context, relate that chief among that king's friends (*anukulavarti*) was Nāga-

varmā who belonged to the Pasiṇḍi Ganga family. Nāgavarmā, who was also known as Ganga Rāja, together with his sister's brother named Tuḷu-aḍi, who was called "a sun to the Kadamba family", granted the village of Mallavaḷḷi situated in the Tagare country to the Jina *caityālaya* in the village of Toḷḷa located in the same country. It is interesting to observe that a pious and virtuous (Brahman) of the Kausika-*vaṁśa* by name Manaḷi Mane-oḍeyon made a grant of land (for the same purpose) and that the seventy-six *pradhānar* (nobles, lit. ministers) were witnesses to the grant.[1]

To the feudatories of the Gangas, no less than to the Gangas themselves, the Jaina *gurus* acted as political instructors. One such example of a *guru* is that of Vimalacandra Ācārya, the disciple of Kīrtinandi Ācārya, of the original Mūla *sangha*, Eregittūr *gaṇa* and the Pulikal *gaccha*.[2] A copper plate grant dated A.D. 776 affirms that "By the religious instruction of this great *ṛṣi* (having become) the confounder of the Bāṇa-*kula*" was Duṇḍu, the Nirgunda Yuvarāja. The principality of Nirgunda may have been somewhere in the south-west of the Chitaldroog district.[3]

Among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa nobles was Cāki Rāja, who was the disciple of the Jain sage Arakīrti whose *guru* was Vijayakīrti of the Yāpaṇīya-Nandi *sangha* and the Punnāgavṛkṣamūla *gaṇa*. This nobleman, who is styled in the Kaḍaba plates dated A.D. 812 which give us this information, an *adhirāja* of the entire (*aśeṣa*) Gangamaṇḍala, applied to his lord king Govinda III, Prabhūtavarṣa, to bestow the village named Jālamangala (situation given) on the Jaina *guru* mentioned above for the Jinendra temple at Śilāgrāma on the western

1. *M. A. R. for 1920*, p. 28.
2. *E. C.* IV, Ng. 85, p. 135.
3. *Ibid.*, Intr. p. 9.

side of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyapura (mod. Maṇṇe in the Nelamangala tāluka).[1]

The devotion of another Rāṣṭrakūṭa noble brings to light a Jaina author of considerable celebrity. This is Lokāditya, the son of Bankeyarasa, of the Cellekētana (or Cellapatāka) family. He was the governor of Bankāpura in Vanavāsa, under king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa, and was a Jaina himself. Under his patronage Lokasena composed the *Mahāpurāṇa-sangraha* in Śaka 820 in the reign of the king Akālavarṣa who ruled from A.D. 884 till A.D. 913. This is mentioned by Lokasena himself in the above Jaina work.[2] We know that Lokāditya was placed over the same provincial capital in the same year from another Jaina author Guṇabhadra's *praśasti* to the latter's *Uttarapurāṇa.* From this work we learn that Lokasena was the chief disciple of Guṇabhadra, and that Lokāditya caused the increase of the religion of Jinendra.[3]

These examples of genuine Jaina devotion pale into insignificance before the determined efforts of one great family whose pious exertions ranging over two centuries and more were greatly responsible for the firm stand Jainism made in southern India. The history of these powerful princes called the Śāntaras has yet to be written. They belonged to the Ugra-*vaṁśa,* and appear for the first time in the seventh century A.D. in the reign of the Western Cālukya king Vinayāditya. The founder of this line in the south was Jinadatta

1. *E. C.* XII, Gb. 61, pp. 30-31 ; *ibid.*, Intr. p. 5. Was the *Mahāsāmanta* Gosgi mentioned in a stone record of *circa* A.D. 950 in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, also a Jaina ? *Ibid.* II, Intr. p. 48 ; 152, p. 77.

2. Rangachary-Kuppuswami, *Trien. Cat. of Skt. Mss. in the Madras Oriental Library* for 1910-1913, p. 218. seq.

3. *I. A.* XII, pp. 216-217 ; Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 411 ; Moraes, *Kadamba-kula,* p. 83.

Rāya (ninth century A.D.) whose story is intimately connected with the alchemic powers of the (Buddhist and later on Jaina?) goddess Padmāvatī of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura (mod. Humcca in the Nagar tāluka).[1] The Śāntaras ruled over the Śāntalige 1,000 which corresponded roughly with the modern Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka and its neighbourhood. They were Jainas during the early part of their political career.[2] Of the founder of the southern line of the Śāntaras, Jinadatta Rāya, it is said in a record assigned to A.D. 950, that he granted Kumbhasikepura for the anointing of Jina. The stone inscription speaks of the Jina temple at that place and at Poḷalu for which the merchants (Śeṭṭis) (named) made an endowment.[3]

Some time after came Tolāpuruṣa Vikrama Śāntara, who in A.D 897 had a *basadi* made for Moni (Mauni?) Siddhānta Bhaṭṭāraka of the Koṇḍakundānvaya and endowed it with certain lands.[4] He was the same Vikramāditya Śāntara who constructed the Guḍḍada *basti* at Humcca and had it dedicated to Bāhubali in the next year A.D. 898.[5] Bhujabala Śāntara, who after his overlord the Western Cālukya monarch Trailokyamalla Deva, had the second name of Trailokyamalla, so we gather from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1066, constructed a *Jinālaya* called Bhujabala Śāntara Jinālaya in his capital at Pombucca, and granted the village of

1. On the Śāntaras, and the date of Jindatta Rāya, read Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 138, seq; Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I, pp. 224, 225, n. (1).
2. Rice, *ibid.*, pp. 138-139.
3. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 114, p. 37.
4. *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 60, p. 154.
5. *M. A. R. for 1929*, p. 7. The reference given to *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 35, cannot be traced.

Haravari to his *guru* Kanakanandideva.[1] His brother Nanni Śāntara is said in A.D. 1077 to be "a worshipper of the feet of Jina."[2] We shall mention the charitable endowments which this prince made along with his wife and relatives, in a later context.

In the meanwhile we may continue with the examples of other Śāntara princes and their ministers who were followers of the Jina *dharma*. In A.D. 1081 Nagularasa, the minister of Vīra Śāntara, is described as "a fortress to the Jina *dharma*."[3] Tribuvanamalla Śāntara, as is related in a record of A.D. 1103, laid the foundation stone of a *basadi* pronouncing the name of Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena Paṇḍita, as a memorial for the death of Bīrabbarasi. This new *basadi* was built opposite to the Pañcabasadi in Ānandur in the capital Pombucca itself. It will be referred to again while dealing with the activities of Karnāṭaka women.[4] Bhujabala Ganga Permmāḍi Barmma Deva in A.D. 1115 is said to have been the lay disciple of Municandra.[5] And his son Nanniya Ganga in A.D. 1122 is styled as the lay disciple of Prabhācandra Siddhānta.[6]

This latter stone inscription found near the Siddheśvara temple on Kallūrguḍḍa in Shimoga, contains many interesting details about Bhujabala Ganga Barmma Deva's pious works as a Jaina. He had a *basadi* renovated in Eḍedore Seventy

1. *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 137.
2. *Ibid.*, Nr. 59, p. 154.
3. *M. A.* for *1931*, pp. 198-199.
4. *E. C.* VIII, Tl. 192, p. 205.
5. *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 60, p. 23. See also Sh. 64, dated *circa* A. D. 1112, p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, Sh. 4, p. 8. There is some confusion here. In some records (Sh. 60) Municandra Siddhānta is identified with Prabhācandra, while in others, he is not.

of the Maṇḍali 1,000, giving it the name Paṭṭadai *basadi* (the Crown *basadi*) and endowing it with certain villages. About this same *basadi* the inscription says that it was one which Daḍiga and Mādhava (the latter being, as we have already seen, the founder of the ancient Ganga line in the south and the lay disciple of Simhanandi Ācārya) had formerly established on the hill of Mandali, and for which the kings of the Ganga line had continued to provide the offerings, and which they had afterwards caused to be built of wood. Under Bhujabala Ganga Barmma Deva it became " the chief of all *basadis* hitherto existing or in future to be established in the Eḍedore Seventy." In A.D. 1122 his son Nanniya Ganga caused the Paṭṭada *basadi* of Mandali, which his grand-father had erected, to be constructed of stone, and endowed it with lands and customs duties. In all Nanniya Ganga constructed twenty-five *caityālayas* for the promotion of the faith.

The same Siddheśvara temple stone inscription is important from other points of view. It gives a resumé of the history of the ancient kings who were patrons of Jainism, and especially of those rulers whose names are not directly mentioned in other records. After describing the origin of the Gangas from the time of Vṛṣabhatīrtha, it relates that the Ganga line continued till the appearance of king Viṣṇugupta. This Ganga ruler was the contemporary (and disciple?) of Nemīśvaratīrtha, and was in his capital at Ahicchatrapura, " when at the time of the *nirvāṇa* of Nemīśvaratīrtha, he performed the *aindradhvajapūjā* " at which he got from Devendra the latter's elephant Airāvata. It was in the reign of king Viṣṇugupta's sons Bhagadatta and Śrīdatta, that a division of the Ganga Empire was made. Prince Bhagadatta received the Kalinga country, while Prince Śrīdatta was given the lusty elephant (as an emblem) and the whole

kingdom. In the line of Śrīdatta arose king Priyabandhuvarmā during whose reign Pārśva Bhaṭṭāraka is said to have obtained *kevaḷajñāna*. At this Saudharmmendra came and performed *kevaḷapūjā*, on which Priyabandhuvarmā himself embraced Jainism.

This uncommon account which is not supported by earlier versions, then continues to narrate the further history of the Ganga line in which Daḍiga and Mādhava, the sons of Padmanābha, were born. Their meeting with Simhanandi, which we have already commented upon, is next narrated; and it is said that they constructed a *caityālaya* on the beautiful hill of Mandali, on the advice of Simhanandi Ācārya. In their line arose king Avinīta Ganga "in whose heart the supreme Jina foot-print was fixed as a rock of mount Meru." Then after many kings (named) came Mārasimha's son Rācamalla, who is called "a moon to the ocean—the Jina *dharma*"; and long afterwards we have two rulers—Rakkasa Ganga, the disciple of Anantavīrya Siddhāntadeva, and his younger brother Kali Ganga. It was during Kali Ganga's rule that Bhujabala Ganga Brahma (Barmma) Deva constructed the Paṭṭada *basadi* on the Mandali hill in stone, as narrated above.[1]

What seems clear from the long account given in the above Siddheśvara temple record is that, inspite of its many statements of doubtful authenticity, it nevertheless enables us to affirm that the early Ganga kings, notwithstanding the patronage which they extended to Brahmans, still professed the Jina faith. This conclusion is, as we have already noted, warranted by, for instance, the Narasimharājapara plates of Śivamāra. And as for Nanniya Ganga, the fact that he was a Jaina is proved by the Īcavāḍi stone inscription cited

1. *E. C.* VII, Sh. 4, pp. 4-9.

elsewhere in this treatise, in which he is said to have constructed a *basadi*.[1]

About fifty years later (in A.D. 1173) Vīra Śāntara is called "a bee at the lotus feet of Jina."[2] But the Śāntaras had by this time so got involved in the political complications of southern India that they gave up their earlier faith and took to a newer creed—Vīra Śaivism. What a profound effect this had on the life of Jainism will be seen in a later connection. We shall merely narrate here that in the thirteenth century A.D. the capital of the Śāntaras was moved first to Kalaśa in the Mūḍgere tāluka and, then, to Kārkaḷa in Tuḷuva. We have elsewhere traced the introduction of Jainism into Tuḷuva.[3] Notwithstanding their strong Śaiva tendencies, the rulers of Kārkaḷa still continued to show marked favour to Jainism in the later ages.[4]

Before we deal with the endeavours of two important feudatory families to further the cause of Jainism, mention may be made here of the work of Govadeva, the feudatory lord of Huliyerapura. His wife was the generous Śantale who gave equal patronage to all the four *samayas*—the Jinaśrī-*dharma*, the Maheśvarāgama, the Sad-Vaiṣṇavāśrita, and the Bauddhāgama. And his *guru* was Candrayāṇadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa*. Govadeva seems to have had also another wife named Mahādevī Nāyakiti. When Mahādevī died in A.D. 1160 he caused the Cenna Pārśva *basadi* to be erected at Heggere, for which his son Biṭṭideva gave specified lands and dues for its worship and gifts of food. Biṭṭideva's *guru*, it may be noted, was Māṇikanandi Siddhāntadeva. Prominent citi-

1. *M. A. R. for 1923*, p. 115.
2. *E. C.* VII, Sh. 116, p. 38.
3. Saletore, *Anct., Karn. I.* pp. 404-405.
4. *E. C.* VI, Intr. p. 19; Mg. 67, p. 67. *See below.*

zens (named) made grants of specified land also for the same *basadi*.[1]

We may now pass on to the contribution of two powerful families which were instrumental in the propagation of the Jina faith in the south. These were the Kongāḷvas and the Cangāḷvas. Of these the former were more influential than the latter. The Kongāḷvas ruled over the Kongalnāḍ 8,000 Province which comprised the Yēḷusāvira country in the north of Coorg and the Arkalgūḍ tāluka in the south of the Hassan district of Mysore. Although its early history can be traced to the time of the Ganga prince Ereyappa in about A.D. 880,[2] yet Kongalnāḍ as a political unit came into prominence only in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., when in A.D. 1004 the great Tamil general named Pañcava Mahārāya received from his royal master Rāja Rāja as a reward for his services Mālavvi (mod. Mālambi in Coorg) along with the title of *Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇī-Kongāḷva*.[3]

For one century the Kongāḷvas and their officials fostered the Jina *dharma* in their principality. In about A.D. 1050 we merely come across evidence of the devotion of a nobleman under Kongāḷva, by name Ayya of Kiviri, the lord of Maduvanganāḍ, who keeping the vow (of *sallekhanā*, evidently) for twelve days in the Cangāḷva *basadi*, expired. The same inscription speaks of Bīḷiya Šeṭṭi, who may have been the head of the merchant guild, as dying at the feet of all the *yatis*.[4]

That the Kongāḷvas themselves were Jainas there can be no doubt. In A.D. 1058 Rājendra Kongāḷva granted for the *basadi* (probably the Pārśvanātha *basadi* at Muḷḷūru, Niḍutada hōbḷi, Coorg) made by his father, lands in many speci-

1. *E. C.*, XII, Ck. 21, pp. 77-78.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 144.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *E. C.* IX, Cg. 30, p. 172.

fied villages. Rājendra Kongāḷva's mother Pōcabbarasi showed her devotion on this occasion in a fitting manner, as we shall relate when describing the part played by women in the history of Jainism.

Pōcabbarasi's *guru* was Guṇasena Paṇḍita, the disciple of Puṣpasena of the Nandi *sangha* and the Irunguḷānvaya which latter is called in the record the great Aruñgaḷāmnāya. He was a great grammarian, and he died in A.D. 1064.[1]

As to the *guru* of Rājendra Kongāḷva Adaṭarāditya himself, we know that he was Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva of the Mūla *sangha*, Krāṇūr *gaṇa* and Tagarigal *gaccha*. For his sake, as is related in a record dated A.D. 1079, the Kongāḷva ruler made a *basadi* named Adaṭarāditya *caityālaya* and endowed it with lands. This inscription also gives the name of another *guru* called Prabhācandra Siddhānta who is called *Ubhaya-siddhānta-ratnākara*. It cannot be made out whether he was the same as Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva whose identity itself is uncertain.[2]

The Kongāḷvas did not disappear on the expulsion of the Coḷas by the Hoysalas in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., as Rice opined,[3] but continued to exercise their sway till the last quarter of the same century, as pointed out by Narasimhacarya.[4] In about A.D. 1100 the Kongāḷva chief Duddammallarasa granted the village of Aybavaḷḷi to Prabhācandradeva for the erection and repairs of a *basadi*.[5] About fifteen years later Vīra Kongāḷva Deva is mentioned as a lay disciple of Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Meghacandra Traividya of the Deśiya *gana* and the

1. *E. C.* IX, Cg. 34, p. 173.
2. *Ibid.* V, Ak. 99, p. 263.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 145.
4. *M. A. R. for 1912-13*, p. 32.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Pustaka *gaccha*. The Kongāḷva chief caused the Satyavākya *Jinālaya* to be built, and gave a specified village on its behalf to Prabhācandra Siddhānta.[1]

Like the Kongāḷvas the Cangāḷvas too showed marked favour to Jainism. These were lords, firstly, of the Canganāḍ (mod. Huṇsūr tāluka in the Mysore State) and, then, of the western part of the Mysore district and a part of Coorg. They were devoted Śaivas,[2] but there is evidence to show that in the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D., the Cangāḷvas gave material support to the Jina *dharma*. In A.D. 1091 the Cangāḷva chief Mariyapērggaḍe Pilduvayya gave specified lands to Pilduvi Īśvaradeva for feeding the poor (*āhāradāni bahe māḍalāgi*). Since the word *āhāradāni* is a Jaina technical term referring to the Jaina formula of gifts as expressed in their phrase *āhārābhaya bhaiṣajya-śāstradāna*, it has been rightly inferred that the Cangāḷva chief mentioned here was a Jaina by persuasion.[3]

This conclusion concerning the Cangāḷvas is borne out by a record dated about A.D. 1100 which contains interesting details pertaining to the great Jaina centre Hanasoge (Panasoge) in the Yeḍatore tāluka of the Mysore State. The epigraph under discussion relates that there were sixty-four *basadis* in that city attached to the Deśiya *gaṇa*, Hottage *gaccha*, Pustakānvaya, and Mūla *sangha*. These had been set up by Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, the elder brother of Lakṣmaṇa and the husband of Sītā, and born in the Ikṣvāku *kula*. And to the *basadi* of the Bandatīrtha which had been constructed by Rāma, the Gangas had given gifts. And

1. *M. A. R. for 1912-13*, p. 32.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 142.
3. *M. A. R.* for 1925, p. 95.

to the same *basadi* Rājendra Coḷa Nanni Cangāḷva made gifts anew. The *guru* mentioned in the record is Jayakīrti-muni, who was well known for his fasts and the *candrāyaṇa* rites. In this inscription it is said that for the four *basadis* of the Hottage *gaccha* in Panasoge and for those in Taḷa-Kāverī, that congregation (of the Hottage *gaccha*) alone was the head.[1] And as regards the same Cangāḷva ruler, he is said to have constructed *basadis* belonging to the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha* in about A.D. 1025 and A.D. 1060.[2]

A solitary instance of a ruler who turned a recluse is mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1115. He is called Nūtana Candila of the celebrated Golla country. The inscription relates that " for some reason " he became a *munipa* under the name of Gollācārya.[3] Nothing can be determined about his identity for the present.

Examples of noble families which gave unstinted help to Jainism may be continued. The Śilahāras of Karhāḍ were patrons of that religion. One of the centres of Jainism within their jurisdiction was Ekkasambuge (mod. Eksambi in the Chikkōḍi tāluka of the Belgaum district). Here was the Nemīśvara *basti* two stone inscriptions of which dated A.D. 1165 refer to the reign of Vijayāditya and to the erection of that *basadi* in that year by the general Kāḷana. The larger of these records is interesting in the sense that it gives the name of another Jaina congregation in Eksambi—the Punnāgavṛkṣamūla *gaṇa* of the Yāpanīya *sangha*, and mentions also a Raṭṭa chief called Kārtavīrya, who was a patron of Jainism.

1. *E. C.* IV, Yd. 26, 28, p. 56.
2. *Ibid.*, Yd. 21, 23, p. 55.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 127, p. 52.

The reason why the Nemīśvara *basadi* in Ekkasambuge in the Kūṇḍi province was constructed is explained in the epigraph. General Kāḷana (descent stated) was leading a happy life with his wife, children, and friends. One day it occurred to him that the only thing that conduced to one's welfare here and hereafter was *dharma,* and he, therefore, built the Nemīśvara basadi, and endowing it (with lands), made it over to the *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya* Vijayakīrti of the Punnāga-vṛkṣamūla *gaṇa,* and disciple of Kāḷana's own *guru* Kumāra-kīrti Traividya. The donee is described as one who was proficient in all sacred lore, including the Jaina doctrine characterized by the seven modes of argument, existence, non-existence, etc., and adorned with the five *mahā-kalyāṇas,* eight *mahā-pratihāryas,* and the thirty-four *atiśayas.* The *basadi* attained celebrity for the regular conduct of service, incessant gifts of food, and shelter given to ascetics and pious men.

Hearing its fame, king Kārtavīrya of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti, visited it. The epigraph relates that the *basadi* was adorned with a lofty *gopura,* elegant female figures and other sculptures, and finials set with jewels. On the specified date (A.D. 1165) this Raṭṭa king made a grant of land and dues to Vijayakīrti to provide for worship, music, food for ascetics, and temple repairs. The protectors of this charity will figure in a later context.[1] The fact that a Raṭṭa king granted lands to a *basadi* constructed by a Śilahāra general and situated in the Śilahāra country is, indeed, worthy of notice.

Nobles in Nāgarakhaṇḍa were also responsible for the flourishing condition of Jainism in Karnāṭaka. Of these mention may be made of the *Nāḍ-prabhu* of Tevarateppa,

1. *M. A. R. for 1916,* pp. 48-49.

Loka Gāvuṇḍa, whose royal master was Soyi Deva of the Kādamba *kula*. Loka Gāvuṇḍa erected a Jinendra temple in A.D. 1171 and provided it with a tank, a well, a watershed for the temple as well as a *satra*. The name of the image set up was Ratnatraya. For the eight manner of ceremonies of this god Loka Gāvuṇḍa gave specified lands to the *guru* Bhānukīrti Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Municandradeva of the Mūla *sangha*, Krāṇūr *gaṇa* and the Tintriṇī *gaccha*.[1] The prominence to which Nāgarakhaṇḍa reached as a Jaina centre will be described in connection with the activities of the nobles of Karnāṭaka in a later context.

Towards the last quarter of the thirteenth century (A.D. 1271) we have Kūci Rāja, a nobleman under the Yādava king Mahādeva Rāya. Kūci Rāja was the disciple of Padmasena Bhaṭṭāraka. He was placed over Betūr in the middle of the Pāṇḍyadeśa. Here he erected a Lakṣmī *Jinālaya* on the advice of his *guru*, and assigned to it lands, a shop, and gardens. This temple was attached to the Pogale *gaccha* of the Sena *gaṇa* which belonged to the Mūla *sangha*.[2]

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 345, pp. 60-61.

2. *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 13, p. 28. On Kūci Rāja's royal master, see *ibid.*, Dg. 8, 97, pp. 26, 60. Dg. 13 speaks of Jinabhaṭṭāraka as the *Rāja guru.*

CHAPTER IV.

JAINA MEN OF ACTION

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya : his lineage, military achievements, literary works, benevolence as a Jaina-Śāntinātha, a poet-general—Ganga Rāja : lineage, military victories, work as a Jaina—Boppa—Puṇisa : lineage, conquests, policy, work as a Jaina—Baladevaṇṇa—The brothers Mariyāne and Bharata—Eca—Viṣṇu Biṭṭimayya, the boy-general—Deva Rāja—Huḷḷa—Śāntiyaṇṇa—Ministers Śivarāja and Somaya—General Recimayya—The brothers Bharata and Bāhubali—Minister Kammaṭa Mācayya—General Amṛta.

RELIGIOUS principles unrelated to political power leave impermanent effects on society. Dogmas of moral existence, if they should have spiritual values, must be interpreted in terms of action. The Jaina sages throughout the period under review recognized this, and produced not merely devout Bhavyas who could perform the orthodox duties and gain for themselves salvation by the rite of *sallekhanā*, but mighty leaders of armies as well who, while being sincere Jainas themselves, liberated their country from its enemies. The greatest claim of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it gave to India men who turned it into a philosophy of action, and clearly showed the importance of the fact that *ahiṁsā*, which was the keynote of their great faith, instead of being an obstacle in the path of their

country's liberation, was really an adjunct without which no freedom could be effected either in the field of religion or in that of politics. To the history of these celebrated Jaina generals we now turn in order to learn how this great religion proved to be a solvent of some of the most pressing problems which faced the statesmen of the times.

The first great name in the constellation of brilliant Jaina generals we meet with is that of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, popularly known as Rāya. A braver soldier, a more devout Jaina, and a more honest man than Cāmuṇḍa Rāya Karnāṭaka had never seen. Stone inscriptions of his own time and a work of his in Kannaḍa are the sources of information for the life of this exceptionally remarkable general. Details about his lineage are gathered from his work called *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* and from stone inscriptions of his ruler and himself. The work called *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* deals with the history of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras, and it was composed in A.D. 978. In this work Cāmuṇḍa Rāya says that he belonged to the Brahma-Kṣatra race, and that he was known as *Brahma-Kṣatra-śikhāmaṇī*. His royal patron was Jagadeka-vīra, Dharmāvatāra, Rācamalla (IV).[1] But he seems to have served under the Ganga king Mārasimha as well.

The age in which king Mārasimha and his son and successor Rācamalla IV lived was very precarious for the Gangas. Under the former the two formidable dangers to the Ganga kingdom were the Western Cālukyas and the Noḷambas, while there were other enemies who were equally troublesome. The Western Cālukya opposition was led by prince Rājāditya, and the Noḷamba menace by Nanni Noḷamba, Noḷamba Rāja.[2] The other enemies were the Pallavas

1. *Kavicarite*, I. p. 46.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 57.

and a number of rulers whose identity it is not possible to determine at the present stage of our investigations. The credit of annihilating the Western Cālukya danger under Rājāditya is to be attributed to Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. In the fortress of Ucchangi, Rājāditya had shut himself up. This stronghold had become "renowned as the fortress which had previously proved impregnable even to Kāḍuveṭṭi who quitted it after having surrounded and besieged it for a long time inspiring terror by his eminent prowess." The stone inscription which gives us these and other details, dated A.D. 974, was found on the Kūge Brahmadeva pillar on the Cikkabeṭṭa at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. It relates that the storming of this famous fortress (by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) astonished the world.[1] This is confirmed by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya himself who in his work mentioned above tells us that for his brave fight against Rājāditya in the fortress of Ucchangi, he received the title of *Raṇarangasinga*,[2] which *biruda* had evidently been borne by the vanquished Rājāditya. For in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription dated about A.D. 983, we have not only that fact alluded to but also the confidence with which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya encountered the enemy. It says thus—"Let the saline ocean be the moat, Trikūṭa the enclosure, Lankā the city, and the enemy of the gods (Rāvaṇa) the opposing king, yet, O king, Jagadekavīra, I am able to conquer him by your majestic lustre—the dignified speech thus made by him was proved true in a moment in the war with Raṇasinga."[3] The title *Jagadekavīra* suggests that the victory was won in the reign of Rācamalla IV.

1. *E. C.* II, 59, p. 12.
2. *E. C. ibid.*, p. 45; *Kavicarite*, I., p. 47.
3. *E. C.* II, 281, p. 126.

The Noḷambas seem to have been dealt with earlier. On the plain of Gōnūr their army was crushed. For the valour which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya displayed in this war, he was given the title *Vīramārtāṇḍa,* while his overlord king Mārasimha took to himself the *biruda* of *Noḷambakulāntaka.* The former fact we learn from the *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa,* and the latter, from the Kūge Brahmadeva pillar inscription.[1] How his royal master praised him in this war with the Noḷamba Rāja is described in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription.[2] These facts prove the statement we have made that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had served also under king Mārasimha.

The other enemies in the reign of king Mārasimha and of his son Rācamalla IV were likewise formidable, but they too suffered the same fate at the hands of the indomitable Jaina general. For instance, there was a ruler named Vajvaḷadeva or Vajjaḷa, who, as the above Kūge Brahmadeva pillar relates, was "famous in the world," and "ready for war, having been encouraged" by some one whose name is effaced in the record.[3] The Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription gives us the cause of the war with Vajvaḷadeva, and the latter's identity. This inscription says that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's lord Jagadekavīra (*i.e.,* Rācamalla) by order of king Indra raised his arm to conquer Vajvaḷadeva, the younger brother of Pātāḷamalla, "who had an army as terrible as the ocean agitated at the end of the world."[4] King Indra referred to here was no other than the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Indra IV. The situation seems to have been the following :—

The Gangas had entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas for two generations since king Bhūtuga's

1. *E. C.,* II, Intr., p. 45 ; p. 12 ; *Kavicarite,* I, p. 47.
2. *E. C. ibid.,* 281, p. 126.
3. *Ibid.,* 59, pp. 12-13.
4. *Ibid.,* 281, p. 126.

time.[1] This ruler's son Ereyappa had married the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa III's[2] daughter Rēvakka and secured important principalities as his dowry.[3] On the death of king Amoghavarṣa III, the same Ganga king Bhūtuga assisted king Kṛṣṇa III, the son of king Amoghavarṣa, to secure the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne against an usurper named Lalliya. And king Bhūtuga himself was assisted by king Kṛṣṇa III to win his throne against his rival Ganga Permmāḍi.[4] This dynastic alliance, therefore, had proved to be of mutual advantage.

On king Bhūtuga's death, he was succeeded by king Mārasimha who, in order to continue the policy of helping the Rāṣṭrakūṭas adopted by his father, assisted king Kannara (Kṛṣṇa) III in the latter's sweeping conquests of the Tamil country.[5] And when that Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch died, and confusion cropped up in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire, king Mārsimha promoted the coronation ceremony of the last prominent Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra IV, the son of king Kṛṣṇa III, and thereby struggled against odds to give a longer lease of life to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power. But this was an insurmountable task, since the powerful enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gangas,—the Western Cālukyas—,shattered the hopes of the two in A.D. 973 ; and king Indra IV, as elsewhere related in this treatise, died in A.D. 982 by the Jaina rite of *sallekhanā* at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[6]

1. See Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 44. seq., for earlier examples of the same.
2. Rice calls him the II, of that name on p. 45, *ibid.*, but corrects his error on p. 67.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, p. 350.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 249 ; V, p. 188. See also *E. C.*, III. Md. 41 ; XI. Intr. p. 9.
5. *E. I.* IV, p. 280.
6. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, pp. 45-46.

Therefore, the statement in the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription that by order of Indra Rāja, (the Ganga ruler Rācamalla) Jagadekavīra raised his arm to conquer Vajvaḷadeva, obviously refers to another Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Ganga alliance after A.D. 974 which is the last year of king Mārasimha, and probably the first regnal year of king Rācamalla IV.[1] It clearly shows that the Ganga power continued to be under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony in the last decade of the tenth century A.D.

Now Vajvaḷadeva's eldest brother is said to be Pātāḷamalla. The name Pātāḷamalla is rather uncommon but it is similar to one of the titles assumed by the Sindas—*Pātāḷacakravartin.*[2] It is not improbable that Pātāḷamalla was a Sinda chieftain. The following considerations will make this suggestion clear. The Sindas who ruled over the Sindavāḍi province comprising the modern districts of Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, and Bijapur,[3] were under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III in A.D. 968.[4] But in A.D. 992 they had come under the Western Cālukya king Āhavamalla.[5] The Sindas continued to be under the Western Cālukyas till A.D. 1189 but for the short period of the Kaḷacuriya rule in A.D. 1180.[6] We have to assume that, since the Western Cālukyas were the enemies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose power they had annihilated, as related above, they must have won over the Sindas to their side against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This accounts for the Sinda attack on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the signal success Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, under the Ganga king Jagadekavīra Rāca-

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg,* p. 50
2. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *E. C.* XI, Hk., 23, p. 118.
5. *Ibid., Dg.* 114, p. 72.
6. Rice, *My. & Coorg,* p. 47.

malla, won over them. It must be confessed that these assumptions rest on the supposed identity of Pātāḷamalla with Pātāḷacakravartin which has yet to be substantiated by historical data.

Notwithstanding this one may observe that in the Khēḍaga battle, as the *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* informs us, the army of Vajvaḷadeva met that of the Gangas under Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. And the Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription relates that " the hostile army routed by the elephant (Cāmuṇḍa Rāya), fled like a herd of deer before Jagadekavīra's victorious elephant."[1] For inflicting a crushing defeat on Vajvaḷadeva, the Rāya obtained the title *Samaradhurandhara* from king Rācamalla.[2]

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's literary work referred to above enables us to assert that he killed in action a chief named Tribhuvanavīra in the fort of Bāgeyūr, enabled Govindara to enter it, and secured for himself the *biruda Vairikulakūladaṇḍa.* Further he inflicted defeats on the warriors Rāja, Bāsa, Sivara, Kūṇānka, and others in the fort of king Kāma (a Kādamba ?), and won the title *Bhujavikrama.* And Madurācaya, also known as Caladanka Ganga and Gangarabhaṭa, who had killed Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's younger brother Nāgavarmā, suffered death at the hands of the Jaina general. We may incidentally note here another reason why Cāmuṇḍa Rāya led the Ganga army against Caladanka Ganga. The Tyāgada Brahmadeva pillar inscription gives us the cause of the war against the latter. " He (Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) at first frustrated the desire of king Caladanka Ganga wishing to seize by the prowess of his arm the goddess of the Ganga sovereignty,"

1. *E. C.* II, 281, p. 127.
2. *Ibid.,* Intr. p. 45 ; *Kavicarite,* I, p. 47.

and (then) completely killed all the enemies.[1] Hence both in the interests of the State as well as his own, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had to punish Caladanka Ganga. And for this victory over Madurācaya, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya received the title *Samara Paraśurāma.*[2] We may add here that in the same Kannaḍa work given above, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya tells us that because of his victory over a company of wrestlers, he was given the *biruda* of *Pratipakṣarākṣasa,* and for destroying heroes, *Bhaṭamāri,* and for being the crest-jewel of warriors, *Subhaṭacūḍāmaṇī.*

The other side of this celebrated warrior is gleaned from the same Kannaḍa work as well as from inscriptions. The *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* relates that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya from his never uttering an untruth even in jest, received the title *Satya Yudhiṣṭira,* from his steadfastness to good morals, the title *Guṇavaṅkāva,,* from his unswerving self-sacrifice the *biruda Samyaktva-ratnākara,* and from his never having coveted the wealth and wives of others, *Śaucābharaṇa.* He seems to have possessed also the titles *Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa* and *Kavijanaśekhara.*[3]

General Cāmuṇḍa was the personification of liberality. It was because of his unparallelled benevolence that his royal master gave him the title of *Rāya.*[4] His preceptor was the celebrated Ajitasena about whom we have narrated a few details in the previous pages. This is proved by epigraphs and his own work *Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa.*[5] But he seems to

1. *E. C.* II, 281, p. 127
2. *Ibid.*, Intr. 45, *Kavicarite,* I, p. 47.
3. *Kavicarite,* I, pp. 46-47. He seems to have had also the name *Aṇṇa* (lit. brother), obviously because of his affection and generosity.
4. *Ibid,* p. 46.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

have come under the influence also of Nemicandra Siddhānta Cakravarti. We infer this from Nemicandra's work called *Gommaṭasāra* in which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya has been appreciatively mentioned.[1] Cidānanda Kavi, a Kannaḍa author, in his *Munivaṁśābhyudaya* (*circa* A.D. 1680) confirms the fact that Nemicandra Siddhānta was the preceptor of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[2]

Both the famous Jaina *gurus* may have been responsible for the uncommon liberality of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. An inscription dated about A.D. 1159, which will be examined in connection with another Jaina general, gives us the importance of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya as a devout Jaina, thus—If it be asked who at the beginning were firm promoters of the Jina *dharma* ——only Rāya, the excellent minister of king Rācamalla (is the reply).[3]

His endowments for the cause of Jainism have earned for him an undying name in the history of India. It was he who caused the colossal image of Gommaṭa to be set up at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D. and of a later date and the evidence of later Jaina writers confirm this assertion. We are indebted to the late Mr. Narasimhacarya for all details concerning the inscriptional and literary evidence dealing with the setting up of the famous statue of Gommaṭa on the Doḍḍabeṭṭa or larger hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This monolithic statue is about 57 feet high; and the following account of Gommaṭeśvara is given in an inscription found on the left hand side of the *dvāra-*

1. Gommaṭasāra, *Karma Kāṇḍa Gāthā* 966-972; see also *E. C.* II, Intr., p. 25.
2. *E. C. ibid.*, p. 65
3. *Ibid.*, 345, p. 148.

pālakas near the same image, and dated about A.D. 1180 :—

The honourable and high-souled Bāhubali was the son of Puru. Having generously handed over the kingdom of the earth to his elder brother, who, on defeat in a regular hand-to-hand fight, unjustly left off speaking, and, when even the discus thrown by him proved a failure, was seized with shame—, went forth and destroyed the enemy *karma*. The emperor Bharata, conqueror of all kings, son of Purudeva, caused to be made near Paudanapura, with joy of mind, an image 525 bows high, resembling the victorious-armed Bāhu-mali-Kēvaḷi. After the lapse of time, a world terrifying mass of immeasurable *kukkuṭasarpas* (fowls with the head and neck of serpents) having sprung up in a region near that Jina, that enemy of sin obtained, indeed, the name Kukkuṭeśvara. Afterwards that region became invisible to the common people, though seen even now by many skilled in charms (*mantra-tantra*). There might be heard the sound of the celestial drum, why say more, there might even be seen the details of divine worship ; those who have seen the brilliant charming mirror of the nails of that Jina's feet, can see the forms of their former births—the supernatural power of that god is renowned in the world. On hearing from people of the celebrated supernatural power of that Jina, a desire arose in his (*i.e.*, Cāmuṇḍa Raya's) mind to see him, and when he prepared himself to go, he was told by his preceptors that the region of that city was distant and inaccessible ; whereupon saying, 'In that case I will cause to be made an image of that god,' Gomaṭa (*i.e.*, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) had this god made. Combining in himself learning, purity of faith, power, virtuous conduct, liberality, and courage, the moon of the Ganga family, Rācamalla, was celebrated in the world. Was it not that king's matchless power, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (*alias*) Gomaṭa, an equal of Manu,

that thus caused this god to be made with great effort ?[1] In the same inscription we have a lengthy account of the great image itself which we abstain from citing.

The above account of the setting up of the image of Gommaṭeśvara as given in one of the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa is repeated with a few additions and variations in several Kannaḍa works like *Bhujabaliśataka* by Doḍḍayya of Periyapaṭṭaṇa (*circa* A.D. 1550), *Bhujabalicarite* by Pañcabāṇa (A.D. 1614), *Gommaṭeśvaracarite* by Anantakavi (*circa* A.D. 1780), *Rājāvaḷikathe* by Devacandra (A.D. 1838), and in the *Sthaḷapurāṇa* of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[2]

The late Mr. Narasimhacarya, who collated the above references to Gommaṭeśvara in Kannaḍa literature, opined that the great statute was built in A.D. 983.[3] But Dr. Shama Sastry has shown, on the evidence of a work called *Bāhubalicaritraśataka,* attributed to Nemicandra, that the statue was constructed in A. D. 1028.[4]

Cāmuṇḍa Rāya also constructed a *basadi* on the Cikka beṭṭa or smaller hill at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[5] Here, we may observe, his son Jinadēvaṇṇa, the lay disciple of Ajitasena, also caused to be made a *basadi,* "amidst the acclamation of all the people." This is related in a record of about A. D. 995.[6]

It was Cāmuṇḍa Rāya who patronized Ratnākara, or Ranna, the well known Kannaḍa author of *Ajitanātha-purāṇa, Sāhasbhīmārjuna,* and *Rannakanda.* The first work

1. *E.* C. II., 234, p. 98. See also *ibid.*, Intr., p. 12.
2. *Ibid.*, Intr., pp. 13-15.
3. *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 15.
4. *M. A. R. for 1928*, 127-129.
5. *E. C.* II, Intr., 45 ; 122, p. 50.
6. *Ibid.*, 121, p. 50.

was composed in A.D. 993 under the patronage of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[1]

We may note by the way that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's younger sister Pullavva died by the orthodox Jaina rite in the Candranātha *basadi* at Vijayamangalam, Coimbatore district. A *niśidhi* (called here *nisidikā*) was set up to commemorate the event.[2]

Great as the material contribution for the cause of Jina *dharma* by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya certainly was, greater was the name which he left behind for posterity to follow. We shall revert to this point later on when we shall see how a famous line of kings took upon themselves a noble task which Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had first shown to the country.

Continuing the history of Jainism we find that there were other Jaina military leaders who were also to a large extent instrumental in the progress of Jainism in Karnāṭaka. General Śāntinātha was one of them. He was the minister-general to *Rāyadaṇḍa-Gopāla* Lakṣma, the right hand man of the Western Cālukya monarch Someśvara II, and was himself a great poet. In a record dated A.D. 1068 we have many interesting details concerning General Śāntinātha. He was "the chief treasury officer of Banavasenāḍ, and the bearer of the burden of its affairs, and the promoter of that kingdom." Daṇḍanātha Śāntinātha is called in this record "a royal swan to the lotus the supreme Jina creed." The reason why he was so styled is given in the next sentence which reads thus—"Many impurities having corrupted the nectar of the Jina

1. *Kavicarite*, I, pp. 62-63. *M.A.R.* for 1923, p. 16. On other Cāmuṇḍa Rāyas in Karnāṭaka history, read *M. A. R.* for 1931, p. 200.

2. *597 of 1905*; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I, p. 545.

mārga, like water and milk, with the bill of good doctrine he separated the water of evil deeds, and made the good creed which issued from the mouth of Jina to be imbibed by the Bhavyas with joy—hence was he called the royal swan to the lotus the supreme Jina creed."

General Śāntinātha's *guru* was Vardhamānavrati of the Mūla *sangha,* Deśiya *gaṇa,* and Koṇḍkundānvaya. His father was called Govinda Rāja, his elder brother Kannapārya, and his younger brother Vāgbhūṣaṇa Rāvaṇa.

The inscription before us praises his qualities as a great poet. "A born poet, a skilful poet, an unassisted poet, a good poet, a beautiful poet, a poet banishing falsehood, a fortunate poet, a praised lord of poets," Śāntinātha had the title of *Sarasvatī-mukha-mukura.* "Filled with beautiful taste, with imagination, and with truthful description did he compose the *Sukumāracarita.*" His fame was unspotted, and his work for the Jina *dharma* lasting. With modesty he petitioned his immediate over-lord Lakṣma regarding a work of merit, thus—"With lines of temples of Jina, Rudra, Buddha and Hari decorated with gold and jewels, Balinagara is well known as a place of five *maṭhas.* To describe the glory of the Jina *dharma* in this royal city, purified by the dwellings of all the gods—among the many countries is Jambudvīpa, the...is the Bharata land; in it is Kuntala country, in which like perpetual spring is Banavasenāḍ, and in the Vanavāsi country is Balipura, frequented by the Bhavyas, and in it the Śāntitīrtheśa temple praised by the gods. It is now built of wood; to build it of stone would be a source of merit to you." Accordingly the provincial ruler Lakṣma ordered that the Jina temple was to be built of stone; and he as well as his suzerain lord the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara II made suitable endowments of land for the

basadi. It was named Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha *basadi*, evidently in honour of the Western Cālukyan ruler himself.[1]

The twelfth century saw a brilliant company of Jaina generals who were responsible for the political greatness of the times. One of the most famous monarchs of this age was the Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana Biṭṭiga Deva. While dealing with the patronage which this ruler extended to Jainism in an earlier connection, it was remarked that his extensive conquests were the work of his remarkable generals. Indeed, it was the good fortune of king Viṣṇu that he was surrounded by these custodians of Jina *dharma* and champions of Karnāṭaka military prestige. There were eight Jaina generals under king Viṣṇuvardhana—Ganga Rāja, Boppa, Puṇisa, Baladeva, Mariyāne, and the latter's brother Bharata, Ēca, and Viṣṇu. The first two inaugurated a series of brilliant campaigns which placed Karnāṭaka once again among the premier powers of southern India.

The age in which these lived may be termed an era of Karnāṭaka expansion. We have shown above that the statement of Rice that king Viṣṇu entered upon an extensive range of conquests after the year A.D. 1116, when he is supposed to have been converted into Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the great Rāmānujācārya,[2] is incompatible with the evidence of epigraphs which proves that even so late as A.D. 1133 that that monarch continued to be a devout follower of the Jina *dharma*. This was but inevitable when it is remembered that all his great generals were staunch Jainas. The preaching of philosophical tenets by one of the greatest of Vaiṣṇava teachers did not come in the way of king Viṣṇuvardhana's recognition of the fact that political considerations were

1. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 136 pp. 102-104.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 99, op. cit.

undoubtedly of greater consequence to the State than those connected with one's own creed. The reign of his pleasure-loving elder brother king Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1100—A.D. 1106?) had been placid and uneventful but for the brave stand which that king together with his brothers Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya jointly had made against the attack on their capital Dorasamudra by the Śāntara king Jagadeva, and for a sort of a punitive expedition which king Ballāḷa I in A.D. 1104 led against the Cangaḷva chief.[1] More serious problems awaited solution at the hands of king Viṣṇu. These problems concerned the north, west, south, and east of the Hoysala Empire. There were the stubborn Pāṇḍyas of Ucchangi in the north, and the Śāntaras in the north-west; while in the west were the ancient Ālupas of Tuḷuvanāḍu and the Kādambas under Masaṇa. The south was disturbed by the actvities of the Kongāḷvas and the Cangāḷvas, instigated possibly by the Western Cālukyas but certainly by the Coḷas which latter power, as we have seen, had created the Kongāḷva kingdom in Coorg. The Kongas and their allies the Pāṇḍyas, too, had to be reckoned with in the south. But the greatest danger was that of the Coḷas themselves who had occupied the capital of the ancient Gangas, Talakāḍ, and practically wiped that power from the map of southern India.

The greatness of king Viṣṇuvardhana as a military genius consists in the fact that, while he realized the supreme need of dislodging the Coḷas from the seat of the Gangas, he saw the importance of annihilating the other enemies at the same time. Hence he concentrated measures which were directed against the enemies almost simultaneously, and had the pleasure of seeing all of them end in complete success for the

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 99.

Hoysala arms. But the work of destroying the enemies in the south, south-east, east, and west goes entirely to his great Jaina generals whose history must now be described in some detail.

The most famous name among them is that of Ganga Rāja. Stone inscriptions dated A.D. 1118 and A.D. 1119 give us very many details relating to his pedigree, martial deeds, and pious acts as a Jaina. Ganga Rāja was born "in a pure Dvija family of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*." His father was called Ēca or Ēciganka or Budhamitra, and his mother, Pōcikabbe. Ēca's father was known as Māra and mother Mākaṇabbe. Ganga Rāja was the youngest of their children, his eldest brother being Bamma, and the next whose name is not known but who married Jakkaṇabbe. Ganga Rāja's wife was called Nāgalādevī, or Lakṣmī, and their son was named Boppa *alias* Ēca. We may observe here that Boppa was also the name of the son of Bamma and of his unknown younger brother. But, as we shall see, the Boppa known to history is the Boppa who was the son of Ganga Rāja.

Ganga Rāja's parents were devout Jainas. This is proved by the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa stone inscriptions. Ēca was "indeed a worthy person in the world," and "equal to Manu in pure conduct," as is related in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1120 and found in the *maṇṭapa* of the *Cāmuṇḍarāya basadi.* The same inscription informs us that Kanakanandi of Muḷḷūr in Coorg was the *guru* of Ēcaganka, while the latter's royal patron was the king Nṛpa Kāma Hoysala. Of Pōcikabbe we have the following in the same record—She alone was the fortunate possessor on earth of the wealth of pure virtues, so that the people of the whole world raised their hands saying—"The assemblage of excellent virtues has assumed the shape of a woman." Further, "Pōcikabbe alone in the world could

settle her mind in the belief that her body would be rendered fruitful by the praise of Jina and her wealth by the gratification (of the desires) of the sages." According to the same record she died in A.D. 1120 " by the perfection of the rite of *sallekhanā*." That is to say, " adopting *saṁnyasana*, observing the rule of lying on one side only, uttering the five salutations which were addressed to the five *parameṣṭis*, (*viz.*, the Jinas, the Siddhas, the Ācāryas, the Upādhyāyas, and the Sādhus, collectively known as the *pañca-parameṣṭis*), she went to the world of gods." It was then that her son Ganga Rāja set up a suitable epitaph consecrating it with gifts, worship, anointment, etc.[1]

To such worthy parents was born Ganga Rāja. The same Cāmuṇḍarāya *basadi* inscription gives us the full *birudas* of this remarkable Jaina military leader. They were the following—Obtainer of the band of five great instruments, Mahāsāmantādhipati, Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka, terrifier of his enemies, purifier of his family, friend of the learned, a moon in raising the volume of the milk ocean the Jina *dharma*, a mine to the jewel perfect faith in Jainism, taker of delight in gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, a joy to the hearts of the blessed, a *pūrṇa-kumbha* (vessel filled with water) for the coronation of the Hoysala Mahārāja, a fountain pillar for supporting the mansion of *dharma*, a hero who keeps his word, chaser of his enemies, a mill-stone to traitors, possessor of these and many other titles, the *Mahāpradhāna, Daṇḍanāyaka* Ganga Rāja.[2]

We have now to see how far these titles were justifiable in the light of the work which he did both as a commander

1. *E. C.* II, 118, pp. 48-49.
2. *Ibid.*, 118, p. 49.

and a Jaina. In the above record this great general is merely called "a *pūrṇa-kumbha* for the coronation of the Hoysala Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana." But in another stone inscription dated A.D. 1115 and found also in the same Cāmuṇḍarāya *basadi*, Ganga Rāja is called "raiser up of the kingdom of Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala Mahārāja."[1] These two statements are very suggestive. It must be confessed that the initial year of king Viṣṇuvardhana's rule is not known. The earliest year of his reign is A.D. 1111.[2] Since in A.D. 1115 Ganga Rāja is explicitly stated to have raised aloft the kingdom of that ruler; and since we know that king Viṣṇuvardhana had a younger brother named Udayāditya, who is known to have died in A.D. 1123,[3] it is not improbable that there may have been a contest between Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayāditya on the death of their elder brother king Ballāḷa I in about A.D. 1106, or another attack on the Hoysala throne by its many enemies like the Śāntaras or the Pāṇḍyas. Whatever that may be, the coronation of king Viṣṇu seems to have taken place after A.D. 1115; and what is more important, it was the Jaina general Ganga Rāja who was the chief supporter of that monarch on that important occasion.

King Viṣṇuvardhana had good reasons to be proud of his great Jaina general. Stone inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and in the Narasimha temple at Belūr give us many details about Ganga Rāja's achievements, and reveal to us what an important part he played in the Hoysala administration. For instance in A.D. 1118 the following is said of him: "As the thunderbolt to the thunderbolt-bearer Indra, as the plough to the plough-bearer Balarāma, as the discus to the discus-

1. *E. C.* II, 127, p. 55.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 97

bearer Viṣṇu, as the spear to the spear-bearer Skanda, as the bow Gāṇḍīva to the owner of Gāṇḍīva Arjuna, even so does Ganga Rāja conduct the affairs of king Viṣṇu." And the engraver of this eulogy Vardhamānācāri, himself "an ornament to the forehead of titled sculptors," asks the question—"How can he, whose fame was brilliant like the waves of the Ganges, be described by people like us?"[1]

The epigraphs give not merely the above eulogy but Ganga Rāja's military work as well. We said above that the most pressing political problem of the time was the expulsion of Coḷas from Talakāḍ. King Viṣṇu wisely entrusted this onerous task to the greatest Jaina general of the age—Ganga Rāja. The Coḷa power in Talakaḍ was annihilated in A.D. 1117.[2] This crowning victory of Ganga Rāja was achieved only when he had met with and routed the three pillars of Coḷa strength in the Karnāṭaka territory—the *Sāmanta* Adiyama in Talakāḍ itself; the *Sāmanta* Dāma or Dāmodara, who was stationed perhaps to the east of Talakāḍ in the direction of Kañci; and the *Sāmanta* Narasingavarmā stationed on the Western Ghats. The ruler whom these and other *Sāmantas* obeyed was king Rājendra Coḷa II (A.D. 1070—A.D. 1117).[3] Ganga Rāja's success over the *Sāmantas* of king Rājendra Coḷa in Karnāṭaka is thus described in the stone record found on the left of the *dvārapālakas* of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated about A.D. 1175: "The great minister, *Daṇḍanāyaka*, a mill-stone to traitors (*drohagharaṭṭa*), Ganga Rāja—when Coḷa's *Sāmanta* Adiyama, stationed as if a door in the camp of Talakāḍu, the fron-

1. *E. C.* II, 73, p. 39.
2. Rice placed this event in A.D. 1116, *My. & Coorg*, pp. 98-99; and I followed him in my *Wild Tribes*, p. 82. But this date should be given up, as will be explained presently.
3. Rice, *ibid.*, pp. 84, 91-93.

tier of Gangavāḍināḍu above the Ghats, refused to surrender the *nāḍu* which Coḷa had given, saying—'Fight and take it!'—marched (against him) with the desire of victory, and the two armies met..."[1] Talakāḍ fell into the hands of the daring Jaina general. We prove this from another record assigned to A.D. 1135 which says that he "seized Talakāḍu."[2]

What happened to the chief city of the Gangas after its capture is related in a stone inscription found in the Narasimha temple at Belūr and dated A.D. 1117. This epigraph suggests that the Hoysala monarch took a severe step against the ancient Ganga capital. For it says thus: That king Viṣṇu "First taking into his arms the wealth of the Poysala kingdom which was his inheritance, as his power increased" captured Talakāḍ, and "burnt the chief city of the Gangas." The effect such a stern step had on his enemy king Rājendra Coḷa is described further in the same epigraph. "Behold, in order that Rājendra Coḷa, disgusted at the water of the Kāverī suddenly becoming polluted, should be suddenly driven to the use of the water from the wells in the city, Viṣṇu by the power of his arm threw the corpses of his army into the stream of the river, and caused his valour to shine forth."[3] Since we know from other inscriptions that it was the Ganga general who actually stormed Talakāḍ, we have to assume that he burnt the city after defeating the Coḷa *Sāmanta* Adiyama, at the orders of his monarch.

This assumption is proved by the Aḷēsandra stone record dated A.D. 1184 which states that "cutting down the hostile kings, he (Viṣṇuvardhana) planted the fence of his valour all around, and burning Talakāḍ (for manure), ploughed it

1. *E. C.* II, 240, p. 102.
2. *Ibid.*, 384, p. 166.
3. *Ibid.*, V., Bl. 58, p. 57.

with the hoofs of his horses, rained on it with the stream of his might, and sowed it with the good seed of his glory."[1] But there cannot be any doubt about Ganga Rāja's himself having stormed Talakāḍ. The Kambadahaḷḷi stone record assigned to A.D. 1118 asserts that when king Viṣṇuvardhana was ruling the kingdom, his senior *Daṇḍanāyaka* (*priya-daṇḍanāyaka*) Ganga Rāja, "when about to take Talakāḍu" (*Talakāḍam koḷuvalli*) asked for a boon which, as we shall see presently, the monarch granted him at once.[2]

Now as regards the date of the defeat of the Tamil general Adiyama, the Angaḍi stone inscription recopied by Dr. Krishna, helps us to fix the exact date of the battle of Talakāḍ. It relates that on Friday the 23rd of November, 1117, on an attack having been made at the orders of the Hoysala Biṭṭideva (*i.e.*, Viṣṇuvardhana), by his general Biṭṭideva Hoysala Sāhaṇi (obviously Ganga Rāja), Adiyama fell on the Hoysala elephants and fought. On this occasion a Hoysala warrior named Bāsaya fought valiantly under the orders of the Hoysala general but died in the battle. The stone commemorates the death of this gallant Hoysala soldier.[3]

But the storming and burning of Talakāḍ did not mean the final collapse of the Coḷa power in Karnāṭaka. There were still two Coḷa *Sāmantas* who had to be beaten—Dāmodara "of the west," and Narasingavarmā of the Ghats. The stone inscription found near the Gommaṭeśvarasvāmi image at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and dated about A.D. 1175, cited above, relates how General Ganga encountered both. "Is not Dāma who, while the destructive point of the sharp sword in your

1. *E. C.* IV, Ng., 32, p. 120.
2. *Ibid.*, Ng. 19, p. 116, text. p. 332.
3. *M. A. R. for 1934*, pp. 98-99. See *E. C. ibid.*, Intr. p. 19; Yd. 6, p. 52 for Rice's date of the battle A.D. 1116.

(Ganga Rāja's) hand raised with the desire of victory was lifting up the skin of his back, fell in the direction of Kañci enough? O Ganga, unable to expose his body to the turn of your sword once in battle, that Tigula (*i.e.*, Tamil) Dāma escaped and took refuge in the forest, and thinking of it again and again now, is frightened like the deer day and night causing palpitation in the hearts of his faithful wives. Having remained till now in Talakāḍu, astonishing people by his valour which put to flight many in any number of battles, the *Sāmanta* Dāmodara, turning now his back on the fight through great fear of the blows of Ganga Rāja's sword, lives like a Śaiva saint eating from a skull (or potsherd) from which (even) a dog will not eat."[1]

There remained still one champion of Coḷa imperialism in Karnāṭaka—Narasingavarmā. This Coḷa feudatory was at first defeated and then slain. We infer this from the above record as well as from the stone inscription found in the Aregallu basti. The former asserts that "Moreover, he (Ganga Rāja) put to flight Narasingavarmā and all the other *Sāmantas* of Coḷa above the Ghats and brought the whole *nāḍu* under the dominion of a single umbrella."[2] The other stone inscription dated about A.D. 1135 says that "making the abode of Yama a home for Narasinga, the general Ganga," "took Gangamaṇḍala and made it subject to the orders of king Viṣṇu."[3] The reward which Ganga Rāja received at the hands of his royal master for thus asserting Hoysala supremacy in the east, will be presently mentioned.

The Tamil hegemony over Karnāṭaka, no doubt, once and for ever was ended; but there remained other rulers who were

1. *E. C.* II, 240, p. 102.
2. *Ibid.*,
3. *Ibid.*, 384, p. 166.

the allies or feudatories of the Tamil monarch, and whose existence was a menace to the growing Hoysala power. These were, among others, the rulers of the Kongudeśa and Cengiri, and a chieftain whose name is effaced in the record but who seems to have been called Jam. . . . The Grāmadabasti stone inscription dated about A.D. 1135 cited above relates that after seizing Talakāḍ, Ganga Rāja took "possession similarly of Kongu, chasing away Jam. . ., pulling out Cengiri by the strength of his arm", and gave Gangavāḍi to his royal master, as related above.[1] The Kongudeśa comprised modern Salem, and was ruled over by the ancient Ceras, while Cengiri, as Rice correctly said, was the famous fortress of Śeñji or Ginjee.[2]

But another danger which simultaneously threatened the Hoysala arms from the north also met with prompt action on the part of the Hoysala monarch. Here in the north lay the Empire of the Western Cālukyas, the distinguished ruler of which Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, had successfully maintained the supremacy of his ancestors throughout the length and breadth of the Western Cālukyan dominions. Viṣṇuvardhana himself had acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Cālukyan monarch at the beginning of his reign. But a clash between the Western Cālukyas and the rising power of the Hoysalas was inevitable. And this was brought about perhaps by the Hoysalas themselves, who stormed a stronghold of a powerful feudatory and ally of the Western Cālukyan monarch. The fortress of Ucchangi belonged to the Pāṇḍyas, the rulers of which from A.D. 1106 had become the masters of Noḷambavāḍi under king Vikramāditya VI. Sub-

1. *E. C.* II, 384, p. 166; *E. C.* IV, Ng. 76 dated A.D. 1145, p. 31

2. *Ibid.*, V, Intr., p. 13. (n).

version of the Pāṇḍya power in the north was necessary for the Hoysalas, if the latter were to be a great imperial power. This was done by king Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D. 1116 when *in the great battle of Dumme, on the borders of the* Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts, the Pāṇḍyas were attacked and defeated.[1] The Pāṇḍya ruler who was defeated could only have been Tribhuvanamalla Pāṇḍya who ruled from A.D. 1101 till A.D. 1124.[2] Since he is described in A.D. 1128 as "the rod in Tribhuvanamalla's right hand,"[3] and since the Tribhuvanamalla referred to was no other than Vikramāditya VI, Tribhuvanamalla, (A.D. 1076—A.D. 1126),[4] we shall not be wrong in believing that he was the Pāṇḍya ruler who was defeated by the Hoysala king. But the credit of inflicting this defeat on the Pāṇḍya ruler of Ucchangi goes to the brave prince of Orissa, Cāma Deva, who was born in Karnāṭaka.[5]

We can only assume that it was to avenge this defeat which his trusted general had suffered at the hands of the Hoysalas that the Western Cālukya monarch himself marched to the south and encamped at Kaṇṇēgāl in the Hassan district. But the Hoysala king had transferred his great Jaina general Ganga Rāja from the southern command atonce to the northern scene of war. The Śāsana basti stone inscription of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa dated A.D. 1118 gives a spirited account of the battle which ended in a complete rout of the Western Cālukyas. "When the army of the Cālukyan Emperor Tribhuvanamalla Permmāḍi Deva, including twelve *Sāmantas*, was encamped at Kaṇṇēgāl, this Ganga Rāja, saying 'Away with the desire to mount a horse, this will be a night battle for

1. *E. C.* VI, Cm. 99, p. 48.
2. *Ibid.*, XI, Intr. pp. 16-17.
3. *Ibid.*, Dg. 90, p. 68; *My. & Coorg.*, p. 76.
4. Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 73.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

me,' attacked and defeated with ease all the *Sāmantas*, so that people said that the sword in the arm of Ganga Daṇḍhādhipa caused the men of the army who were entering the camp (*savanga*) (?) to enter more, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord, who, being pleased with the prowess of his arm, said, 'I am pleased, ask for a boon!'" But unlike ordinary men Ganga Rāja asked for a boon which we shall describe below.[1]

The importance of these victories won by General Ganga was incalculable. Inspite of the admirable campaigns of king Viṣṇuvardhana's predecessors, the Hoysala kingdom in the early years of that king's reign still formed a part of the Western Cālukyan Empire. As long as the Western Cālukyan supremacy lasted, so long was a Hoysala Empire merely a dream. Further, the firm hold which the Coḷas had over Talakāḍ likewise precluded any idea of a permanent Hoysala government in the south and the south-east. It was only when both these powers had been broken that king Viṣṇuvardhana could think of "bringing all the parts of the compass under his command."[2] The crushing defeat which the Jaina general Ganga Rāja inflicted on the Coḷa *Sāmantas* at Talakāḍ and over the Ghats in A.D. 1117, and the signal success which he won in the attack on the Western Cālukyan Emperor himself in the next year, at once relieved the Hoysalas of the two worst enemies they had *viz.*, the Coḷas and the Western Cālukyas. How spontaneously these victories were reflected in the architecture and literature of the times is another story which is outside our purpose. Suffice it to say that they fully justified the praise given to the great

1. *E. C.* II, 73, p. 39. See also. *ibid.*, 125, text., pp. 49-50.
2. *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 58, p. 57.

Jaina general as the "raiser up of the kingdom of Viṣṇu-vardhana Poysala Mahārāja."

His *guru* was Śubhacandradeva, "an ocean of philosophy," disciple of Kukkuṭāsana Maladhārideva of the Pustaka *gaccha* and the Deśiya *gaṇa*. This we know from stone records dated about A.D. 1117 and A.D. 1118.[1] To his *guru*, as one of these records relates, Ganga Rāja gave the village of Parama in A.D. 1118, which his son Commander Ēci Rāja confirmed in the same year.[2] In the capital Dorasamudra itself, as the epigraph on the pedestal of the image in the Pārśvanāthabasti at Bastihaḷḷi in Haḷebīḍ says, Ganga Rāja caused Jina images to be constructed. It is interesting to observe that in this record he is styled merely *Senior Daṇḍanāyaka* Gangappayya.[3]

Ganga Rāja was first a loyal soldier and, then, a devout Jaina. In other words, he placed politics before religion. This may be proved by the following epigraphs which give us the standard of morality which he set before himself, and which tell us how after doing his duty as a gallant soldier, he asked his royal master for a reward. In an inscription commemorating his death, we have the seven standards of morality which Ganga Rāja had placed before himself. "To be false in speech, one ; to show fear in battle, two ; to be addicted to others' wives, three ; to give up refugees, four ; to leave suppliants unsatisfied, five ; to forsake those to whom he is bound, six ; to live in treachery to his lord, seven ;—these are the seven *narakas* (hells), says Ganga."[4] The great Jaina general made the opposite of every one of these seven *narakas* his principle of life.

1. *E. C.* II, 73, 74, pp. 39-40.
2. *Ibid.*, 73, p. 40.
3. *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 44.
4. *E. C.* V, Bl. 124, pp. 82-83.

When he brought the whole of Gangavāḍi under the supremacy of his royal master, "the grateful king Viṣṇu, being pleased, said—'I am pleased; ask for a boon.' Thereupon, though he knew that the king would give (anything that was asked), he did not ask like ordinary people for any other thing, but intent on the worship of Jina, asked for Govindavāḍi (*i.e.*, Gangavāḍi) amidst the plaudits of the earth. The nobleminded (Ganga) granted it with joy for the worship of Gommaṭadeva, so that the assembly of sages, expressing approbation again and again, exclaimed, 'This is excellent!'" It was after receiving Gangavāḍi as a gift that Ganga Rāja showed what a devout Jaina, who had done his duty to the State, could do for his religion. For, as all records of his own period inform us, Ganga Rāja after securing this unparalleled gift from king Viṣṇuvardhana, renovated all the *basadis* in Gangavāḍi and restored them to their former condition. He had the enclosure made around Gommaṭadeva at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[1] This work alone earned for him the following praise from the engraver Vardhamānācāri A.D. 1118—"Was not Ganga Rāja a hundred-fold more fortunate than that former Rāya (*i.e.*, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) of the Gangas?" The next statement in the same epigraph explains it thus—"Wherever he marched, wherever he was encamped, wherever his eyes rested, wherever his mind was attached, there he had rich Jina temples made, and thus the country was everywhere brought through Ganga Rāja to the condition in which it had been in days of yore." Indeed, the engraver, who we may well assume perhaps only voiced the popular sentiment, attributes extraordinary powers to the great Jaina general thus—The reason why the world extols the distinguished Jaina devotee Attimabbarasi is because the Godāvarī stopped flow-

1. *E. C.* II, 73, p. 40.

ing. Now the Kāveri, though it swelled, surrounded and pressed forward its waters (obviously during his attack on Talakāḍ) did not touch the General Ganga. When this is said, how can the panegyrist adequately praise the greatness of his devotion ? "[1]

Lest this may be taken to be an exaggerated account of the munificence of the great Jaina general, we may cite the opinion of a later engraver who in A.D. 1184 wrote thus about him—By the restoration of numerous Jina temples, the re-building of ruined towns and general distribution of gifts, the Gangavāḍi 96,000 Province shone like Kopaṇa through Ganga Daṇḍanātha.[2]

As regards the place assigned to Ganga Rāja in the history of Jainism, we have the following estimate of that general in the record of about A.D. 1117—" The Koṇḍakunda line of the Mūla *sangha* is the most ancient in the Jina creed ; and the promoter of that line is undoubtedly the general Ganga Rāja."[3] And a later inscription dated A.D. 1159 in answer to the question—Who were at the beginning firm promoters of the Jina *dharma*?, answers thus—" After him (Cāmūṇḍa Rāya) only Gangaṇa, praised by the learned, the excellent minister of king Viṣṇu."[4]

Both Ganga Rāja's wife and his son were like him fervent Jainas. When the great general died in A.D. 1133, his eldest son Boppa, who was like his father also a military commander, erected a *Jinālaya* called after one of the titles of

1. *E. C.* II, Cf. No. 240, p. 102.

2. *E. C.* IV, Ng. 32, p. 120. In a record dated A.D. 1115 the same is said of Ganga Rāja. *Ibid.*, II, 127, p. 55. But this inscription is dated two years before the actual conquest of Talakāḍ by Ganga Rāja. I am unable to explain this discrepancy.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 73, p. 39.

4. *Ibid.*, 345, p. 148.

his noble father, *Droharagharaṭṭa Jinālaya*, in the centre of Dorasamudra itself. The stone inscription dated in that year and found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Haḷebīḍ, informs us that that *Jinālaya* which "even Jalajabhava (*i.e.*, Brahmā) could not excel in drawing, carving and moulding, and which shone like the silver mountain (Kailāsa), an ornament to the earth," was erected as a memorial to Ganga Rāja's death. It was consecrated by the learned Nayakīrti Siddhānta Cakravarti, and attached to the Mūla *sangha*, Deśiya *gana*, Hanasoge *baḷi*, and the Pustaka *gaccha*.

Further interesting details concerning that *Jinālaya* and the ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Deva are given in the same record. The Indrar or priests of the Droharagharaṭṭa *Jinālaya* which contained the image of Pārśvanātha, took the consecrated food to king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, who was then at Bankāpura, at a most opportune moment. It was just then that the Hoysala monarch had slain one of his enemies—Masaṇa, the Kādamba general,[1] and that a son was born to his queen Lakṣmī Mahādevī. And, as we related in an earlier connection, king Viṣṇu "being filled with joy on account of both his victory and the birth of a son, seeing the priests who had brought the sandal water and consecrated food from the consecration of the god Pārśva, he ordered them to approach, and rising to meet them, saluted them with joined hands to his forehead, and took the sandal water and consecrated food, saying, 'By the merit of the consecration of this god I have obtained both a victory and the birth of a son, and have been filled with joy.' He therefore gave to the god the name of Vijaya Pārśva and to his son the name of Vijaya Nara-

1. On Masaṇa, read *M. A. R.* for 1916, p. 52; *ibid.*, for 1931, p. 100; *ibid.*, *for 1932*, pp. 189-190; Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 128-132.

simha Deva." It was to the Droharagharaṭṭa *Jinālaya* in Dorasamudra and for the prosperity of his son and for the promotion of universal peace that the same monarch, we may be permitted to repeat, gave the village of Jāvagal together with others to the god.[1]

Commander Boppa maintained the liberal traditions of his illustrious father. For in addition to the above *Jinālaya* at Dorasamudra, he built two more Jina temples. He erected the Śāntīśvara *basadi* at Kambhadahaḷḷi, Nāgamangala tāluka. The name of the architect who designed it was Droharagharaṭṭācāri. It cannot be made out whether this temple was constructed as a memorial to Boppa's father.[2] As an inscription assigned to A.D. 1138 relates, he caused to be made the *basadi* of Trailokyarañjana, otherwise called Boppaṇa-caityālaya. In this record General Boppa is described as "the learned son of the General Ganga", "the affluent Ēcaṇa, friend of the learned, friend of the good."[3] Learned works by Boppa, however, have not been discovered so far.

But in regard to his martial nature we know a few details. He possessed the valiant qualities of his great father.[4] He seems to have been entrusted with the work of subduing the Kongas. For in A.D. 1134 it is said that he attacked and put to flight the mighty enemies, and by force of arms subdued the Kongas.[5]

What influence the pious wife of Ganga Rāja and the

1. *E. C.* V, Bl 24, pp. 82-83
2. *M. A. R.* for 1915, 51 ; *E. C.* II, Intr., p. 55.
3. *E. C.* II, 120, p. 49. The image of this temple seems to have been transferred at some later date to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. *Ibid.*, Intr., pp. 6, 55.
4. *E. C.* V, Bl 124, p. 83.
5. *Ibid.*, Cp. 248, p. 229, *ibid.*, II, 384, p. 166.

mother of Boppa wielded will be made clear in a later context.

Ganga Rāja's gallant comrade was General Puṇisa. He was descended from a family of ministers. His father was called Puṇisa Rāja Daṇḍādhīśa, and he had the *biruda* of *Sakala-śāsana-vācaka-cakravarti* (Universal emperor of those who read [interpreted] the orders of the king). To Puṇisa Rāja Camūpa and his wife Pōcale were born three sons—Cāvaṇa or Cāma Rāja, Korāpa or Kumārayya, and Nākaṇa or Nāgadeva. The children of the eldest Cāvaṇa by his wives Arasikabbe and Cauṇḍale were Puṇisamayya and Biṭṭiga respectively. Of these the former Puṇisamayya is the general in question, and he was the *Sandhi-vigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) of the king Viṣṇuvardhana. This pedigree of General Puṇisa is repeated in two inscriptions—one dated A.D. 1117 and found in the Pārśvanātha basti at Chāmarājanagara, and the other undated record found on the capital of the pillar in the Keśava temple at Belūr.[1]

General Puṇisa's conquests did not certainly open an epoch in the history of Karnāṭaka as those of Ganga Rāja had done. Nevertheless his victories were very important, since they gave to the Hoysalas the key to the south and prepared the way for the sweeping campaigns of king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva. We have to remember the policy of that ruler which we have outlined in the previous pages. The great enemy of the Hoysalas in the south were the Coḷas. While General Ganga Rāja was actively engaged in subverting the Coḷa power in Talakāḍ, Puṇisa was deputed to the south there to crush the allies of the Tamil monarch—the Kongāḷvas, the Koḍagas, the Toḍas, and the Keraḷas. And in the same year (A.D. 1117) when Ganga Rāja stormed Talakāḍ, General Puṇisa also conquered the gateway to the south-Nīlādri (mod.

1. *E. C.* IV, Ch. 83, p. 10; *M. A. R. for 1934*, pp. 83-84.

Niligiris). The Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti record dated A.D. 1117 gives the following graphic account of Puṇisa's success in the south--The *Mahāpradhāna, Daṇḍanāyaka* Puṇisa frightened the Toḍa, drove the Kongas underground, slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyāḷas, terrified king Kāla and entering the Nīla mountain offered up its peak to the Lakṣmī of victory. On king Viṣṇu once giving the order, Puṇisa seized Nīlādri and pursuing the Maleyāḷas, captured their forces and became the master of Keraḷa, and then again showed himself in the Bayalnāḍ (plain county).[1]

But like Ganga Rāja Puṇisa was large-hearted. True to the Jina *dharma,* both looked upon humanity with an impartial eye. The above Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti inscription has the following interesting account to give of Puṇisa's broad-mindedness—The ruined trader, the cultivator with no seed, the ousted Kirāta (chief) with no power left, who had become his servant, he gave them all what they had lost and supported them—the Daṇḍanātha Puṇisa.[2] And when about four years later (A.D. 1121) the Cālukya Hemmāḍi Deva's son Soyi Deva made certain grants to the god Jayangonḍeśvara in Brahmasamudra, General Puṇisa was present along with General Ganga Rāja, their monarch king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, the queen Mahādevī Śāntāladevī, and the four ministers.[3] Obviously to Puṇisa endowments to non-Jaina deities were as sacred as those to the Jaina gods themselves.

But it must be remembered that so far as the cause of the Jina *dharma* was concerned, Puṇisa was a second Ganga Rāja. The above Chāmarājanagara Pārśvanātha basti record says

1. *E. C.* IV, Ch. 83, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, V, Cp. 260, p. 235.

that "Without room for any fear, in the manner of the Gangas, he decorated (*alankarisidan*) the *basadis* of the Gangavāḍi 96,000." In the same record we are told that he granted lands for the *basadis* known as the Trikūṭa *basadis* which he had caused to be constructed in Arakoṭṭāra in the Eḍenād.[1] The Pārśvanātha *basadis* at Chāmarājanagara and at Bastihaḷḷi in Dorasamudra owed their existence to his generosity.[2] To a great Jina temple erected by his wife in the Hoysala capital Dorasamudra, as we shall narrate in the next chapter, he gave the two villages of Māṇikavoḷal and Māvinakere in Mōdūrnāḍ as gifts. Further, to all the *basadis* in Māṇikavoḷal he made specified endowments of land and money. These gifts may be assigned to about A.D. 1117.[3]

General Puṇisamayya's *guru* was Ajitasena Paṇḍitadeva whose identity cannot be determined.[4]

We may now mention the other six Jaina generals of king Viṣṇuvardhana. In about A.D. 1120 we have Commander Baladevaṇṇa. He was the third son of king Āditya (or Arasāditya) and Ācāmbike, his elder brothers being Pamparāya and Harideva. This stone inscription found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa styles Baladevaṇṇa "the virtuous leader of the assemblage of ministers." The three brothers were ornaments of the Karnāṭaka family, renowned in the world, uncles of Māciräja, fiercely valorous to enemies, devoted to the feet of Jina, and possessed of great fortitude. Baladevaṇṇa was the chief of all ministers, subduer of enemies, eschewer of

1. *E. C.*, IV, Ch. 83, p. 10.
2. *M. A. R.* for 1908, p. 9; *ibid.*, for 1916, p. 53; *ibid.*, for 1934, p. 84.
3. *M. A. R. for 1920*, p. 32. See *E. C.* IV, Kr. 37, p. 105 where an incorrect rendering of the record is given.
4. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 53; *ibid.*, for 1920, p. 32.

others' wives, a necklace to Sarasvatī, of well known pure fame, of a celebrated noble form, and worshipper of the feet of Jinendra.[1] His military achievements, however, are not known to us.

Under king Viṣṇuvardhana were two famous brothers, one of whom continued to guide the affairs of the Hoysala Empire in the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor king Narasimha I. These were Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka and Bharateśvara Daṇḍanāyaka, descended from Dākarasa of the Bharadvāja *gotra.* They were connected by marriage with the family of Ganga Rāja as well as with the royal Hoysala House itself. For the Aḷēsandra stone inscription of A.D. 1184 contains the interesting information that Ganga Rāja was the brother-in-law of the senior Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, whom we shall style the I of that name. Further, according to the same lithic record Ganga Rāja's son Boppadeva *alias* Ēca's brothers-in-law were Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka (II) and Bharateśvara (I).[2] Now Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II's three beautiful daughters Padmaladevī, Cāvaladevī, and Boppadevī, " skilled in art, singing, and dancing ", according to the Brahmeśvara temple stone inscription at Sindhagiri dated about A.D. 1103,[3] had been married in one pavilion in Śaka 1025 (A.D. 1103) to king Ballāḷa I.[4] It may have been the same Senior Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka, as the late Mr. Narasimhacarya suggested, who may have set up the image of

1. *E. C.* II, 221, p. 95 ; *ibid.*, Intr., p. 58, and n. (1) for other Baladevas.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 32, p. 120.

3. *E. C.* VI. Cm., 160, 56-57. The date *circa* A.D. 1103 is to be found in the earlier part of the record, the concluding portions of which are built into the ground. *Ibid.*, p. 56, (*n. 1*).

4. *Ibid.*, Cm. 160.

Jina in the *basti* at Haṭṇa, Tipṭūr tāluka, along with the merchants of Beḷgere-paṭṭaṇa.[1]

Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II and Bharateśvara I had served first under king Viṣṇuvardhana and then under his son king Narasimha I. The Brahmeśvara temple record styles them as those who under king Viṣṇu held the rank of great ministers of the whole kingdom, and "a rank descending from the line of the capturer of Kāñci, Vikrama Ganga Viṣṇuvardhana" ; as those who were "the jewelled earrings to the Lakṣmī the pure *syād vāda* ; rejoicing in daily anointings and festivals of the Jina *pūjā,* delighting in the four manner of gifts, (and) eyes to the doctrine of Akalanka." Of these two brothers Mariyāne II won greater fame at the hands of king Viṣṇuvardhana. For the Brahmeśvara temple record says that Mariyāne II was like the *paṭṭada-āne* (State elephant) to king Viṣṇuvardhana ; while the Aḷēsandra inscription informs us that, looking upon Mariyāne as his *paṭṭada-āne,* king Viṣṇu appointed him as the commander of his army.[2]

Both the brothers held the offices of *Sarvādhikāri, Māṇikabhaṇḍhāri,* and *Prāṇādhikāri* (Commanders of the Life Guards) under the same monarch.[3] Another record in the Sindhagiri Brahmeśvara temple dated A.D. 1137 praises General Bharata thus—All his wealth for the Jina *mandiras,* all his love for the subjects, all his good-will for the worship of Jina Rāja, all his generosity for the company of the good,

1. *M. A. R. for 1918,* pp. 21, 45. Haṭṇa in the Nāgamangala tāluka was a Jaina centre. The Vīrabhadra temple at this place was a Jaina *basadi* dedicated to Pārśvanātha. Vīrabhadra is now made to stand on a Jaina pedestal ! *M. A. R.* for 1919, p. 16.
2. *E. C.* VI, Cm. 160, op. cit., *ibid.,* IV. Ng. 32, p. 121.
3. *Ibid.,* IV, Ng. 32, p. 121.

all his gifts for holy *munindras*,—did he divide with great joy, the Camūpa Bharata.[1] That this praise given to General Bharata was not unfounded is borne out by a stone record dated about A.D. 1160, which tells us that he erected Jaina images in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, built eighty new *basadis* and renovated 200 old ones in Gangavāḍi "so that they met one's gaze wherever one looked."[2]

From many records we know that his *guru* was Gaṇḍavimuktavrati, the disciple of Māghanandi of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha*.[3] We may incidentally note in this connection that the same Jaina sage was the *guru* of Bharata's elder brother Mariyāne II ;[4] while the *guru* of Bharata's wife (the junior) Hariyale was Māghanandi himself.[5]

We may digress here a little in order to narrate a few more details about this illustrious family of the Jaina general who continued to serve under the next Hoysala ruler king Narasimha I. An inscription at Kambhadahaḷḷi relates that the brothers received a grant from this king in A.D. 1145.[6] It was they who, while continuing in their hereditary office of great ministers,[7] gave king Narasimha I 500 *honnu* as a gift obtaining in return a renewal of the grant of their ancestral estates of Sindageṛe, Baggavaḷḷi, and Daḍiganakeṛe.[8] Bharata II and Bāhubali, the sons of Mariyāne II (?), while serving under king Narasinga I's son and successor king Baḷḷāḷa II, obtained in A.D. 1184 a reconfirmation of their ancestral

1. *E. C.* VI, Cm. 161, p. 58.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 265, 267, pp. 122-123.
3. *Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 161, p. 58.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 64, p. 18.
5. *Ibid.*, VI, Cm., 160, p. 57, IV, Ng. 32, p. 121.
6. *M. A. R. for 1915*, p. 51.
7. Cf. *E. C.* VI, Cm. 160, op. cit.
8. *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 32, pp. 121-122.

estates ; and they themselves made certain specified grants for the new *basadi* which they had caused to be constructed at Aṇuvasamudra and for the old *basadi* at Cākeyanahaḷḷi. These grants were made over by them in A.D. 1184 to the priest Devacandra Paṇḍita, the disciple's disciple of Gaṇḍavimukta-deva, of the Sāvanta *basadi* of Kollāpura (mod. Kolhāpur) attached to the Mūla *sangha* and the Īnguḷeśvara *baḷi*.[1]

To the great circle of Jaina military leaders of the reign of king Viṣṇuvardhana Deva belonged three other generals— Boppa, Ēca, and Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya. Of these we have already seen a few details concerning General Boppa, the eldest son of Ganga Rāja. Boppa's wife was Bāganabbe, the lay disciple of Bhānukīrti Deva. Their son was Ēca who also rose to be a *Daṇḍādhīśa*. About him it is said in A.D. 1134 that he made Jina temples in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa look like those in the *tīrtha* of Kopaṇa and other places. Like his father Boppa, General Ēca was a large-hearted Jaina. This accounts for the specified grant of land which he made in the same year, along with his father and mother, for the god Mūlasthāna Gangeśvara of Beḷgali, in the presence of fifty families of the locality and the local officer *Pērggaḍe* Sōmayya.[2] He died in A.D. 1135 by the rite of *sallekhanā* " after living for a long time in happiness, delighting in bestowing gifts and rejoicing in the advancement of the Jina *dharma*."[3]

1. *E. C.* IV, Ng. 32, pp 121-122.
2. *Ibid*., V, p. 229.
3. *Ibid*., II, 384. This inscription makes Ēca son of General Bamma and Bāgaṇabbe, and Bamma himself brother of Ganga Rāja. *Ibid*. Read, *ibid*., Intr. p. 57. As in the case of Mari-yānes and Bharateśvaras, there is some discrepancy in the lithic records concerning these two generals of king Viṣṇu.

Another distinguished Jaina military leader under king Vışṇuvardhana Deva was Immaḍi Daṇḍanāyaka Biṭṭimayya. The Belūr Saumyanāyakī temple record dated A. D. 1136 contains a very interesting account of this remarkable boy-general. He too belonged to a well known family of hereditary ministers. His father was called Ciṇṇa Rāja *Daṇḍādhīśa,* the son of the celebrated Udayāditya and Śāntiyakka. Ciṇṇa Rāja " bore the burden of king Ereyanga's territory ". To him and his wife Caudale were born several daughters and two sons Udayaṇa and Viṣṇu.

Of these Viṣṇu, who " daily increased in size and glory like the new moon," was more fortunate than his elder brother Udayaṇa. On his growing up with indications of all good qualities, as a reward to the household of an hereditary minister and a meritorious family, the Hoysala king Viṣṇu treating him like a son, himself had his *upanayanam* performed with great festivities. And when he was seven or eight years of age, and was proficient in all the sciences of arms, obtaining for him a virgin-jewel, the daughter of his own chief minister (unnamed in the epigraph), king Viṣṇu himself lifted up a golden *kalaśa* and pouring water on his head, gave away the virgin, thus providing him with a marriage of unimagined happiness.

And at the age of ten or eleven, Viṣṇu having become as sharp as *kuśa* grass in intelligence, and perfect in the four tests of character—*viz.*, loyalty, disinterestedness, continence, and courage, the king noting this and praising him with his own hand invested him with the title of *Mahāpracaṇḍa-Daṇḍanāyaka,* with double confidence, and giving him all authority, he (the young Viṣṇu) became the *Sarvādhikāri* and *Sakala-janopakāri.*

The young Viṣṇu, also known as Immaḍi Daṇḍanāyaka Biṭṭimayya, proved his mettle in a brilliant campaign in the

south directed against the Kongudeśa which evidently had failed to pay the annual tribute. The same epigraph gives us further interesting details in regard to the expedition, and the reason which made the king entrust this lad with the great duty of completely subduing the Kongudeśa. " Among the titled Mārāyas (*i.e.*, Mahārāyas or lords) who is there in the world like you? Bring quickly the tribute from Kongu !" On the king thus ordering, the boy-general in half a *pakṣa* put to flight Cengiri, burnt his city, plundered his territory, took an astonishing amount of tribute and brought it with a troop of lusty elephants.

But the conquest of Cengiri, which must have reverted to its independent state after the expedition led against it by General Ganga Rāja mentioned in a previous page, was only the prelude to the conquest of the Kongudeśa. The more experienced generals were doubtful about the boy-commander's ability. They said half in jest and half in admiration, " This boy will take Kongu—will he not? He will bring in the troop of elephants with his golden smile—will he not?" Their anxiety and fear was but natural. A confederacy of the Coḷa, Cera, Pāṇḍya and Pallava kings had been formed, and the Hoysala king had sent his boy-commander against them! But young Viṣṇu was equal to the great task. In half a month he completed an expedition of victory directed against the south. The hostile kings who had assembled on the seashore were routed, their troop of elephants brought to his ruler, Kongu subdued, and Rāyarājapura burnt. And in the region of the south, adorned by the Sahya mountains, General Biṭṭimayya erected pillars of victory to commemorate the victories he had won for his royal master.

This " right hand man " to king Viṣṇuvardhana was, however, a devout Jaina. When his youth had matured, having gained experience of all public affairs, and having made many

gifts in the great holy places, he erected a *Jinālaya* in the capital Dorasamudra itself, and like other loyal and dutiful citizens, christened it after his royal master—*Viṣṇuvardhana Jinālaya.* General Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya's *guru* was the learned Śrīpāla Traividyadeva, a great logician and a *Vādībhasimha.* The engraver of this record asks the question—" The commentaries he (Śrīpāla) had made in prose, verse, and precept, embodying the rules of the six systems of logic, for the refutation of opponents, who can describe ? " General Biṭṭimayya gave the village of Bījavoḷal (location given) which he had received as a gift from king Viṣṇu, and other lands which he had bought from citizens (named), to his *guru* for the worship of the god in the *basadi* and for its repairs and for food of the *ṛṣis.*[1]

We now come to the reign of the next Hoysala monarch Narasimha I (A.D. 1141—A.D. 1173). His age like that of his illustrious father became famous because of the activities of four Jaina generals and two ministers, one of whom, so far as the history of Jainism is concerned, ranked with Ganga Rāja and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. These were Commanders Deva Rāya, Huḷḷa, Śāntiyaṇṇa, and Īśvara, while the ministers were Śivarāja and Someya.

The great minister-general Deva Rāja belonged to the Kauśika *gotra.* His *guru* was Municandra Bhaṭṭāraka who is described as one adorned with the jewels of the thirty-six qualities and devoted to the five kinds of observances. Deva Raja was "a jewelled vase shining on the pinnacle of the Hoysala kingdom." And king Narasimha pleased with his

1. *E. C.* V, Bl. 17, pp. 48-51. It cannot be made out whether Immaḍi Biṭṭimayya is identical with Biṭṭimayya mentioned in the reign of king Narasimha. See *E. C.* IV, Intr. p. 21, where reference is given to Kp. 32 which is wrong.

meritorious wisdom and his faithfulness, bestowed on him Sūranahaḷḷi, where that devout Jaina general erected a Jaina *caityālaya* for which the monarch granted money payments. This temple was made over to Deva Rāja's *guru* Municandradeva, and the village of Sūranahaḷḷi rechristened by the king Parvapura.[1]

A more celebrated Jaina devotee and general was Huḷḷa. Details about the family to which this remarkable commander belonged are met with in stone records but with this peculiarity : whereas the lithic records found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa uniformly give the names of his parents in one manner, other epigraphs, like that found in the Nāgamaṇgala tāluka, have different names to give concerning them. All records, however, tell us that the family to which Huḷḷa belonged was called the Vāji *kula*. In the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa records ranging from A.D. 1159 till A.D. 1163, his father's name is given as " the blameless " Yakṣarāja or Jakkarāja and his mother's, " the well-behaved " Lokāmbike. Huḷḷa's wife was called Padmāvatī, and his younger brothers Lakṣmaṇa and Amara.[2] But the Madeśvara temple stone inscription found in Nāgamangala and dated A.D. 1164, while confirming the name of the family to which Huḷḷa belonged, says that Kaṇṭimayya, Hariyaṇṇa, and Huḷḷa, and their younger sister Duggale were the children of Madhusūdana and Muddiyakke.[3] It cannot be made out whether these latter names were the popular names of the parents of Huḷḷa.

Leaving aside this divergence in epigraphic evidence concerning the parents of Huḷḷa, we find that both as a great minister-general and a patron of Jainism he attained wide

1. *E. C.* IV, Ng. 76, p. 132.
2. *Ibid.* II, 64, 345, 349, pp. 147-9, 153.
3. *Ibid.*, IV Ng. 30, p. 119.

celebrity in the land.[1] He was not merely a pious Jaina; epigraphs praise him as a practical statesman. He held the posts of Great Minister, Senior Treasurer, *Sarvādhikārī*, and General.[2] He was the honourable minister who managed the affairs of his royal master.[3] He was cleverer than Yogandharāyaṇa in the management of affairs, and superior even to Bṛhaspati in the knowledge of politics.[4] It is not surprising that such an eminent statesman should have served under three successive monarchs—Viṣṇuvardhana, Narasimha, and Ballāḷa II.[5]

Minister-general Huḷḷa's lasting contribution for the cause of Jina *dharma* was the construction of the famous Caturviṁśati *Jinālaya* at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Since the record dated A.D. 1159 mentions some details concerning this temple, it must have been completed by that year. "Together with its enclosures, dancing halls, two fine strongly built large Jaina dwellings at the side, and mansions with doorways resplendent with various elegant ornaments of foliage and figures, this matchless temple of Caturviṁśati Tīrthankaras," when completed (obviously in the year A.D. 1159) presented the appearance of a charming ornament of Gommaṭapura.

Such a piece of devotional and architectural beauty could not go unnoticed by the Hoysala monarch Narasimha II. When that ruler was going on an expedition for the conquest of regions, he saw, "with great regard the Jinas, Gummaṭa,

1. He is not to be confounded with Huḷḷarasa, a Cāḷukya head-jewel, the son of Nāgarasa who was the son of Muddarasa, mentioned in a record dated A. D. 1079. *E. C.* V, Cn. 145, p. 188.
2. *Ibid.* II, 64, p. 18.
3. *Ibid.* II, 345, p. 147.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 349, p. 153.
5. *Ibid.*, Intr., 58; 101, 147.

and Pārśvanātha and this temple of Caturviṁśati Tīrthankaras," did obeisance to the Jina images, and gladly granted as a permanent endowment the village of Savaṇeru for the worship and offerings in the temple. Indeed, the king was so charmed with this *Jinālaya* that, as we noticed in an earlier connection, he lovingly gave it the second name of Bhavyacūḍāmaṇī after Huḷḷa's own title *Samyaktva-cūḍāmaṇī*. And General Huḷḷa made the *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya* Nayakirti Siddhānta Cakravarti the *Ācārya* of the Caturviṁśati *basadi*, and directed that from the money which the Ācārya obtained from the village of Savaṇeru, the latter was to meet the cost of repairs of the *basadis* of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa *sthāna*, the worship and enjoyments of the gods, and the gifts of food to the assembly of ascetics.[1] In about A.D. 1175 the same village of Savaṇeru and two others called Bekka and Kaggere were received by General Huḷḷa from king Ballāḷa II, and made over to the same *Jinālaya* and for the worship of Gommaṭeśvara and Pārśvadeva.[2]

Before we pass on to the history of other *basadis* which were carefully looked after by General Huḷḷa we may mention a word about his *gurus*. The Mangāyibasti record dated A.D. 1159 tells us that Huḷḷa rejoiced in bowing at the feet of Maladhārisvāmi[3]; while one of the inscriptions on the Doḍḍabeṭṭa dated about A.D. 1175 explicitly states that he was the lay disciple of Nayakīrti Siddhāntadeva.[4] The former

1. *E. C.* II, 345, 349, pp. 148-9, 153. In the later record dated about A.D. 1175, it is said that while returning from the conquest of the regions, king Narasimha visited the Caturviṁśati basadi. *E. C. ibid*, 240, p. 103. This point will not be discussed here.
2. *E. C.* II, 240, p. 103 ; see also *ibid.* V, Cn. 146, pp. 188-189.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 349, p. 153.
4. *Ibid.*, 240, p. 103.

was also known as Kukkuṭāsana Maladhārideva, and was merely his *vrata guru*.[1]

Śravaṇa Belgoḷa was not the only centre that tasted the generosity of General Huḷḷa. Three prominent strongholds of Jainism owed their prosperous condition to the liberality and devotion of that general. These were Kellangere, Bankāpura, and Kopaṇa. Inscriptions dated A.D. 1159 and 1163 tell us in what manner he strengthened the cause of the Jina *dharma* in these three well known places. In the *mahātīrtha* of Kopaṇa, " after paying much gold," he purchased from the residents of that *tīrtha* (specified *vṛtti* of land) which he lovingly granted " amidst the plaudits of the whole world " for the assembly of the twenty-four Jina sages in that centre.

The same record tells us what he did at Bankāpura. Here he renovated beautifully Uppaṭṭāyta's great Jina temple which had gone to complete ruin. Moreover in that same place he rebuilt " as high as Kailāsa " the Jina temple which had completely been ruined and which had been built by a former chieftain named Kaliviṭa.[2]

At Kellangere General Huḷḷa's munificence likewise showed itself. Kellangere was an original holy place (*ādi-tīrtha*). It had been founded by the Gangas and praised by the whole world. But after a lapse of time only the name remained ! [3]

1. *E. C.* II 345, p. 148.

2. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified Kaliviṭa with the *Mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭa of the Callaketana family, the governor of Banavase under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, mentioned in a record of A.D. 945. *E. C.* II, p. 148, n. (2). Cf. Fleet, *Dyn.*, *Kan. Dts.*, p. 420, (2nd Ed.).

3. The reason seems to be that like many a Jaina centre, it passed into the hands of the Brahmans. For in A.D. 1174 it is called the immemorial *agrahāra* Kellangere *alias* Hariharapura. *E. C.* V, Ak. 112, p. 161.

Here General Hulla caused to be erected a splendid Jina temple, " from the base to the pinnacle so as to stand to the end of time." Here too he built five great *basadis* " desirous of the five *mahā-kalyāṇas* " (*i.e.*, birth, anointment, renunciation, enlightenment, and liberation). All these details are mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 1159.[1] Another inscription dated A.D. 1163 has further information to give concerning General Hulla's work at the same centre. In this year he caused to be made, as an act of reverence, an epitaph to his *guru* the *Mahāmaṇḍalācarya* Devakīrtideva, who had built the Pratāpapura *basadi* at Kellangere. This *basadi* was attached to the Rūpanārāyaṇa *basadi* of Kollāpura, and to the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha*. General Hulla had this *basadi* of Pratāpapura renovated ; and built an almshouse at Jinanāthapura, a village about a mile to the north of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[2]

How did General Hulla pass his daily life ? " Delighting in restoration of Jina temples, in assemblies for Jina worship, in gifts to groups of ascetics, in devotion to the praise of Jina's feet, in hearing holy *purāṇas* of Jina, the General Hulla praised by the blessed, passes his time every day."[3] And his place in the history of Jainism is thus described : The firm promoters of the Jina doctrine were only three at the beginning—Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, and after him only Gangaṇa, " and after him again only Hulla, the excellent minister of king Nṛsimha." If any other had (such claim), the engraver of this record dated about A.D. 1159 has the courage to ask, why not name him ? Indeed, Hulla was a modern Ganga

1. *E. C.* II, Intr., p. 70, n. (1) ; 345, pp. 148-149.
2. *Ibid.*, 64, pp. 18-19, and p. 19, n. (2)
3. *Ibid.*, 345, op. cit.

Daṇḍanāyaka;[1] and "a moon in causing to swell the ocean of gifts to all the Jina temples in the Ganga country."[2]

The third Jaina general under king Narasimha was Śāntiyaṇṇa. He was the son of Pāriṣaṇṇa and Bammaladevī. This lady was the daughter of Mariyāne Daṇḍanāyaka II. She is said in the lithic record dated A.D. 1159 to have been like Attimabbe in devotion. Her husband is called a Great Minister and Treasurer of the *pattisa* (a kind of spear). It is said of him that in the war with Āhumalla he destroyed the hostile forces which came close but died in the battle for his royal master king Narasimha. On this occasion Karigunda in Nirgundanāḍ was granted (evidently to Śāntiyaṇṇa) together with the lordship (of the same). This was obviously as war-relief to the son of the loyal general Pārśvadeva who had died in State service. Śāntiyaṇṇa was the lay disciple of Mallaṣeṇa Paṇḍita, who was the disciple of Vasupūjya Siddhāntadeva. On being raised to the rank of a Daṇḍanāyaka, and on receiving the lordship of Karigunda, Śāntiyaṇṇa constructed a *basadi* there and granted specific lands for the same. On this occasion Malla Gauḍa and all the subjects were present, and they too granted the dues on the ferry in that village and the *kaḷavatta* (or share of grain at the threshing floor) for the temple repairs, god's worship, and gifts of food for the sages in that *basadi*. These gifts were made over by the citizens to Mallaṣeṇa Paṇḍita.[3]

Another Jaina general of the reign of king Narasimha was Īśvara Camūpati. He was the son of the Great Minister. *Sarvādhikāri,* and *Senāpati-daṇḍanāyaka* Ereyangamayya. Īśvara Camūpati repaired the *basadi* on the Mandāra hill,

1. *E. C.* II, 64, p. 18 op. cit.
2. *Ibid.*, 349, p. 153.
3. *Ibid.*, V, Ak., 141, pp. 174-176.

Tumkūr tāluka. We shall describe the pious deeds of his wife in the next chapter. These details are related in the stone record found in the same *basadi* and dated about A.D. 1160.[1]

The two great Jaina ministers of king Narasimha in A.D. 1165 were *Hērggaḍe* Śivarāja and *Hērggaḍe* Someya, who granted in that year certain specified taxes to the Hoysala *Jinālaya* of Māṇikavoḷal in order to provide for gifts of food to ascetics (in that temple).[2]

As we remarked while dealing with the question of royal patronage, the reign of the next Hoysala monarch Ballāḷa II opened another glorious chapter in the history of the land. Once again the military prestige of the Hoysalas rested to a very large extent on the prowess of the Jaina generals and ministers. Chief among them was the General *Vasudhaikabāndhava* (Sole Friend of the World) Rēcimayya, the son of Nārāyaṇa and Nāgāmbikā. He had seen State service first as a minister under the Kaḷacuriyas. It was he who had obtained the seven-fold wealth of empire for the Kaḷacuriya king Bijjaladeva (A. D. 1156—A. D. 1167), and "caused the same seven-fold wealth to be visibly enjoyed by the line of kings who succeeded that emperor". Rēcimayya, who was a Great Minister, Master over 72 officials, and *Mahāpracaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka*, delighted in council, policy, bravery, fortune and good character. On his arm "the vine the kingdom of the Kaḷacuriya kings might spread." He was so liberal that he "shone as the only *kalpadruma* in the world." Indeed, what Ganga Rāja had done for the whole of the Jaina world, Rēca did for the province under him: he set up a standard of liberality

1. *E. C.* XII. Tm. 38, p. 10.
2. *M. A. R.* for *1920*, p. 32.

which was all his own.

It was from the Kaḷacuriya kings that Rēcarasa had received the beautiful province of Nāgarakhaṇḍa which he "ruled with exceeding glory." The stone inscription found in the old Jina *basti* (modern Cenna Basavaṇṇa temple) at Chikkamāgaḍi, Shikārpur tāluka, and assigned to A.D. 1182, dealing with this minister-general, does not enlighten us as to how he came to exchange his royal masters and serve under the Hoysala king Ballāḷa II.[1] We are to suppose that when Rēcarasa found that the Kaḷacuriya Empire was, like the Western Cālukya dominion, crumbling before the attacks of the invincible Ballāḷa II,[2] he thought it wise to enter the service of the Hoysala monarch.

For the cause of the Jina *dharma*, General Rēcarasa's efforts were unending. The above Chikkamāgaḍi stone inscription informs us that he once came to Māguḍi for the purpose of worshipping Jineśvara, together with the king Boppa Deva and Śankara Sāmanta. Having done obeisance to the Jina, Rēca Daṇḍādhīśa inspected the Jina temple built by Śankara Sāmanta, and being greatly pleased, praised it, and granted the village of Taḷave to it for three generations. Further down in the same record it is said that the god in that *basadi* was called Ratnatraya, and that the priest who received the grant was Bhānukīrti Siddhāntadeva of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa* and the Tintriṇīka *gaccha* and Nunna *vaṁśa*.

But of all his endowments the most permanent was the construction of the Sahasrakūṭa *Jinālaya* in the *rājadhāni* of Arasiyakere. A stone inscription found in this *basadi*

1. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 197, p. 125. See also *ibid.*, II, Intr., p. 62.
2. Read Rice, *My & Coorg.*, pp. 102-103 for an account of king Ballāḷa's victories.

informs us that Rēcarasa, the eminent councillor of the Kaḷacuriya *kula*, hearing of the steadfastness of the Jaina citizens of Arasiyakere, and their ability to maintain *dharma*, "taking refuge at the lotus feet of that Ballāḷa" (*i. e.*, king Ballāḷa II), set up in that city the image of Sahasrakūṭa Jina, and for the eight kinds of ceremonies of that god, for the livelihood of the priests and servants and repairs of the *basadi*, obtaining the village of Handarahāḷu from king Ballāḷa, granted it to his own *guru* Sāgaranandi Siddhāntadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*. We shall see that the city which General Rēcarasa thus adorned with a *basadi* was a well known Jaina centre.[1]

He also set up in about the same year A. D. 1200 the god Śāntinātha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and made over the *basadi* to the same *guru* mentioned above. From this epigraph we learn that Sāgaranandi Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Śubhacandra Siddhāntadeva, was connected with the Sāvanta *basadi* of Kollāpura which belonged to the same *saṅgha*, *gaṇa*, and lineage.[2]

We have had an occasion of mentioning the two brothers Bharata and Bāhubali who had taken service under the king Ballāḷa.

Būci Rāja was another well known Jaina general of the same ruler Ballāḷa II. He was the Great Minister for Peace and War, skilled in both Kannaḍa and Sanskrit, and he could compose poetry in both the languages. On the coronation of the king in A. D. 1173, Būci Rāja erected the Trikūṭa Jīnālaya in Māṛikali in Sigenāḍ, and granted that village itself for the worship, offerings, and gifts of that temple. His *guru* is mentioned as Vasupūjya Siddhāntadeva, the

1. *E. C.* V, Ak. 77, pp. 140-141.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 380, p. 164.

disciple of Śrīpāla Traividya of the Arunguḷānvaya and the Dramila *sangha*.[1]

An equally conspicuous example of a liberal State servant was minister Candramauḷi, the son of Śambhudeva and Akkavve. He was praised by learned men versed in music (Bhārata śāstra), Āgamas, logic, grammar, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, dramas, and poetry. Indeed, he was "praised by all the learned men without exception". He was of "established merit," an ornament of ministers, a councillor, and "the rod in the celebrated king Ballāḷa's right hand." Himself a staunch Śaivite, Candramauḷi was nevertheless benevolent towards the Jina *dharma*. When his wife, whose work we shall describe presently, erected a *Jinālaya* in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, it was he who begged his royal master to grant him the village of Bammeyanahaḷḷi to provide for its worship. Of course the great councillor's request was, as we shall see, granted in A. D. 1182.[2]

The reign of king Ballāḷa II could also boast of other well known Jaina ministers. Nāgadeva was one of them. He was the son of the minister Bammadeva who himself belonged to a famous family of State officials. Nāgadeva was the *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* of king Ballāḷa, and was "a protector of Jina temples". His *guru* was Nayakīrti Siddhāntadeva who will be mentioned again in the following pages of this treatise. Nāgadeva caused to be made in A. D. 1195 a dancing hall and a stone pavement in front of the god Pārśva at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. As an act of reverence in memory of the departed Nayakīrti Siddhānta, he caused an epitaph to be made in the same year. Nagadeva's lasting work for the cause of the Jina *dharma* was the construction of

1. *E. C.*, V, Hn., 119, p. 35.
2. *Ibid.*, Cn., 150, pp. 192-193.

the Nagara Jinālaya at the same great centre, for which he left munificent gifts. This monument seems to have been originally called Śrīnilaya and it was placed in the charge of certain men who will figure later on.[1]

The Great Minister Mahādeva Daṇḍanātha came also of an illustrious family of State officials. His wife was Lōkaladevī, an equal to Attimabbe in devotion to the Jina *dharma*. And his *guru* was Sakalacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Kulabhūṣaṇa Traividya Vidyādhara, of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa* and the Tintriṇīka *gaccha*. Mahādeva Daṇḍanātha erected in A. D. 1198 "a splendid Jina temple" in Uddhare called Eraga *Jinālaya* for the worship and repairs of which he gave, in the presence of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Ekkalarasa and others, specified lands. And the Paṭṭaṇasvāmi Seṭṭi and others (citizens) and oilmongers gave specified customs dues. The *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Ekkalarasa and his retinue added to this benevolent deed by granting the ancient dues on sheep and cattle in and around Uddhare.[2]

In about A. D. 1200 mention is made of the Great Minister, *Sarvādhikāri*, Superintendent of Ceremonies, Kammaṭa Mācayya, who together with his father-in-law Ballayya granted the tax on oil mills for the Paravādimalla Jinālaya in Kumbeyanahaḷḷi.[3]

Towards the end of the reign of king Ballāḷa II there appears General Amṛta. He came of a Śūdra stock, the names of his parents being Hariyama Seṭṭi and Suggavve. Amṛta or Amitayya had three younger brothers named Kallayya, Masaṇayya, and Basavayya. Amṛta was a Great minister, *Sarvādhikāri*, *Mahāpāyasam* (master of the

1. *E. C.*, II, 335, p. 143.
2. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 140, p. 20.
3. *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 151, p. 193.

robes?), and *Birudanamottadiṣṭāyakam* (master of the company of the titled). His birth place was Lokkuṇḍi which was, as we know from other records, one of the capitals of king Ballāḷa II. Nayakīrti Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Jinacandra, was the spiritual *guru* of Amṛta Daṇḍanāyaka. Together with his three brothers, Amṛtayya set up in A. D. 1203 the Yekkōṭi *Jinālaya* in Okkalugere; and in the presence of certain Nāyakas (named) and all the citizens and farmers, made a grant of land for the eight kinds of ceremonies of the god Śāntinātha and for gifts of food for ascetics.[1]

But General Amṛta was liberal towards the non-Jainas as well. It was he who set up a temple and built an *agrahāra* in his birth-place Lokkuṇḍi in A. D. 1203, and established the god Amṛteśvara in Amṛtapura, Tarikere tāluka, as is related in a record dated A. D. 1206.[2]

The benevolent work of the Minister for Peace and War Ēcaṇa also falls within the reign of king Ballāḷa II. Ēcaṇa in about A. D. 1205 caused a *Jinālaya* to be constructed. It had not its like anywhere in Beḷagavattināḍ, and this made that centre equal to Kopaṇa.[3]

An unidentifiable patron of Jainism may be mentioned here. In an inscription found on the pedestal of the Caturviṁśati Tīrthankara *basadi* at Kopaṇa, it is said that the *image* was caused to be made by Bopaṇa, whose descent is stated, and who was the disciple of Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva; and that it was presented by him to the *basadi* of the Mūla *sangha* and Deśiya *gaṇa* at Kopaṇa erected by Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka at the conclusion of some obser-

1. *E. C.* VI, Kd., 36, p. 8.
2. *Ibid.*, Kd. 36, op. cit.; Tk. 42, pp. 109-110.
3. *Ibid.*, VIII, Sk. 317, p. 154.

vances. The identity of this general is uncertain; but if the supposition of the late Mr. Narasimhacarya that the Māghanandi mentioned here was perhaps the sage of that name mentioned in a Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record dated A. D. 1283, is accepted, then, we may place Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka in the reign of king Narasimha III (A.D. 1254—A.D. 1291).[1]

In the reign of the last great Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāḷa III, we have a prominent Jaina general named Kēteya Daṇḍanāyaka. He is mentioned as a Great Minister, General, and *Sarvādhikāri* in A. D. 1332 under that Hoysala ruler. He made in that year a grant of the excise revenue of Kondatur and another village the name of which is effaced in the inscription, for the *basadi* of Kolugāṇa in Eḍenāḍ.[2]

1. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 83; *E. C.* V, Hn. 61, pp. 17-18; Rice, *My. & Coorg.*, p. 97. Whether this Mādhava Daṇḍanāyaka was the same as his namesake, who was the brother of Rāja Jai Bhaṭṭayya Nāyaka mentioned in a record of A.D. 1218 (Hn. 61 op. cit.) is uncertain.

2. *E. C.* IV, Ch. 182, p. 22.

CHAPTER V.

WOMEN AS DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH

Women in Karnāṭaka history—Ladies of the Nirgunda family as champions of Jina *dharma*—A woman administrator—Attimabbe—Other examples of austere Jaina ladies—Their devotion and charity exemplified—Kadamba queens—Nāgarakhaṇḍa ladies—Wives of generals—Hoysala Queen Śāntaladevī—Wives of feudatories, officials, and citizens.

WOMEN have never been a negligible factor in the history of mediæval Karnāṭaka. The vitality which characterized Karnāṭaka's glorious epoch that culminated in the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, was to an appreciable extent due to the integrity, patriotism, and intelligence of Karnāṭaka women to whom love for the land and their *dharma* was of primary importance. Their devotion, service, and determination made them take an active part in some of the most important affairs of the day. But we are concerned here only with their great work for the cause of the *anekāntamata.* While studying this aspect of the question it is interesting to note that the women who figured most conspicuously as champions of the Jina *dharma,* were drawn from all sections of the people, notably from the royalty, the nobility, and the houses of the great ministers and generals.

So early as A. D. 776 we have an instance of a noble

lady of the Nirgunda family championing the cause of the Jina *dharma*. She was Kandācchi, the wife of Parama Gūla, who was the son of Duṇḍu, the Nirgunda Yuvarāja about whose instruction in politics at the hand of Vimalacandra Ācārya we have already mentioned above. This lady was the daughter of Maruvarmā, who belonged to the Sāgara-kula, and his wife (unnamed) who was the daughter of Pallavādhirāja. Kandācchi "ever promoting works of merit," caused to be constructed a Jina temple named Loka-tilaka adorning the northern side of Śrīpura. For the repairs, worship, and other works of merit connected with it, the village of Poonaḷḷi along with other lands, in the Nirgunda country, was granted by the Ganga monarch Śrīpuruṣa, on the application of Kandācchi's husband Parama Gūla, Pṛthvī Nirgunda Rāja. We may observe here that to this royal grant made in A.D. 776 the witnesses were the eighteen officials.[1]

In the first quarter of the tenth century A. D. figures a remarkable Jaina woman administrator and champion of Jainism. This was during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛṣṇa III in A. D. 911, when the *Mahāsāmanta* Kalivittarasa of the Kāḷki-dēvaysar-*ānvaya* was the official placed over the Banavase 12,000 province. In that year Sattarasa Nāgārjuna, the *Nāḷ-gāvuṇḍa* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70, died. The Government appointed Sattarasa Nāgārjuna's wife Jakkiyabbe in her husband's place as the *Nāḷ-gāvuṇḍa* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70. This lady who was "skilled in ability for good government, faithful to the Jinendra *śāsana*, (and) rejoicing in her beauty", protected the Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70. And "though a woman, in the pride of her own heroic bravery", committed an act which won for her still greater

1. *E. C.* IV. Ng. 85, pp. 135-36.

renown in the eyes of the Jaina world. When she was thus ruling her principality, "bodily disease having made inroads," she decided that worldly enjoyments were insipid; and sending for her daughter, made over to her posterity, and freeing herself from the entanglements of the chain of desires, while in the holy place of Bandaṇike, in full faith performed the vow of *sallekhanā* and died in the *basadi* of that city.[1] It cannot be made out whether she is the same Jakkiyabbe who in a record discovered in the Rāmeśvara temple at Chikka Hanasoge, Yeḍatore tāluka, is said to have been the wife of the great warrior Nāgakumāra, and to have gladly gone to the other world, having realized the loathsome nature of this body. In this record she is praised as a devoted Śrāvakī who excelled even Rohiṇī by her good qualities. If the identification of the Jakkiyabbe mentioned in this record with her namesake spoken of in the above inscription dated A.D. 911 is accepted, then, the epigraph found in Chikka Hanasoge should be dated to a period after A. D. 911 and not in A. D. 900, as has been done.[2]

To the tenth century A. D. belongs the most celebrated name amongst women in Jaina history. It is that of Attimabbe who was the daughter of General Mallappa, and the wife of Nāgadeva and the mother of Paduveḷa Taila. General Mallappa was a commander under the Western Cālukya ruler Tailapa (A.D. 973—A.D. 997). Attimabbe was an ideal devotee. She had 1,000 copies of Ponna's *Śāntipurāṇa* made at her own expense, and 1,500 images

1. *E. C.*, VII. Sk. 219, pp. 130-131. For the date see the text, p. 298. It cannot be made out why the date A. D. 918 is given by Rice, when the text says—*Saka-nṛpa kālātīta Samvatasaraṅgaḷ-eṇṭunūramūvattanālkaneya Prajāpatisamvatsara*, etc, which corresponds to A.D. 911. Swamikannu, *Indian Ephemeris*, V, pp. 224.
2. *M. A. R. for 1912-3*, p. 38.

of gold and jewels.[1] We have seen that some women devotees have been compared to Attimabbe in their piety.

In A.D. 968 during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Koṭṭigadeva, Nityavarṣa, Paṇḍiga, born in the line of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya, was placed over the Kadambaḷige 1,000. His wife was Jakkisundarī, who caused a *basadi* to be built in the famous Kākambāḷ. For the temple thus erected, Paṇḍiga granted the villages of Madalūr and Malagavāḍi to the priest Rāmacandra Bhaḷāra, the disciple of Aṣṭopavāsa Bhaḷāra *alias* the Kavali-gaṇa-ācārya.[2]

Towards the end of the same century we have the example of a very austere Jaina lady. She was Pāmbabbe, the elder sister of Bhūtuga (the Ganga king?) and the senior consort of Paḍiyara Dōrapayya. She was the disciple of Nāṇabbe-kanti who was herself the disciple of Abhinandi Paṇḍitadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa*. Pāmbabbe having made her head bald (by plucking out the hair), performed penance for thirty years, and observing the five vows expired in A. D. 971. The scribe tells us that when the earth honoured her as Bhūtuga's elder sister, saying "Jīya! What are our commands?", she replied—"All that I have received is truely renounced as if never received!"[3]

But women also could actively promote the cause of the Jina *dharma*. Padmāvatiyakka was the lay disciple of the priest Abhayacandra. On his death some time in A.D. 1078, she completed at a cost of seventy *gadyāṇa* the construction of the *basadi* which he had left half built, and erected an enclosure to the shrine of the god with a wooden

1. Rice, Karnātaka *Sabdānuśāsanam*, Intr., pp. 28-29; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1883*, pp. 301-2.

2. *E. C.* XI, Cd. 74, p. 16.

3. *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 1, p. 1.

pillar. Three respectable citizens and two managers of the temples were the witnesses to this charitable deed.[1]

Turning to the other parts of Karnāṭaka we find the same devotion and patronage of the Jina *dharma* among the royal ladies. The Kongāḷvas, as we have already seen, had set an example for the people to follow. Pōcabbarasi was the mother of Rājendra Kongāḷva. In about A. D. 1050 she had a *basadi* constructed, and an image of her *guru* Guṇasena Paṇḍita of the Drāviḷa *sangha*, the Tavuḷa-*gana*, and Irunguḷānvaya, and presented lands to the *basadi* in the prescribed manner in A. D. 1058.[2]

In about the same year (A.D. 1050—A.D. 1051) there were two examples of Jaina devotion. The lord of Madhuvankanāḍ Ayya of Kaviri, performing the vow for twelve days in the Cangāḷva *basadi* died. His sons Baki and Buki set up a memorial stone. Dāya-tigamati had become famous in the country as the "benefactress of others." She died in the orthodox Jaina manner. Unable to hear this news, Jakkiyabbe, the *mantraki* of Candiyabbe Gāvuṇḍi, and the wife of the Śravaka Eḍaya, obtaining the consent of her relatives, performed the *saṁnyasana* and died.[3]

But constructive work could certainly be done by the royal ladies of Karnāṭaka. The Kādamba queen Māḷala Devī, the senior consort of the Kādamba ruler Kīrti Deva, had in A. D. 1077 the Pārśvadeva-caityālaya in Kuppaṭūr consecrated at the hands of Padmanandi Siddhāntadeva. This sage belonged to the Mūla *sangha* and the Tintrinīka *gaccha*. For this Jināyala she obtained from the king

1. *M. A. R. for 1926*, p. 42. The date of this record is based on the name Bhāsa mentioned in it.

2. *E. C.* IX, Cg., 35, 37, pp. 173-174.

3. *Ibid.*, Cg., 30, 31, pp. 172-173.

Siddaṇi, "the most beautiful place in Eḍenāḍ." What is interesting to observe is not the construction of the *Jinālaya* but the fact that the Kādamba queen after worshipping all the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* of Kuppaṭūr, had the *Jinālaya* christened Brahma *Jinālaya* by them, and had the satisfaction of seeing not only endowments made by them but also by the priests of the Koṭīśvara Mūlasthāna and of the eighteen temples in the neighbourhood of Kuppaṭūr. The donee Padmanandi Ācārya was the priest of the Bandaṇike *tirtha* and of all the other *caityālayas*.[1]

Equally interesting examples of royal devotion are met with in the history of Nāgarakhaṇḍa in the Banavase 12,000 province. These substantiate the statement that was made above concerning the ideal which Karnāṭaka women had placed before them. We have already seen that the Śāntaras were devout Jainas. A great name in this royal house was that of Caṭṭaladevī, the grand-daughter of Rakkasa Gaṅga, and the queen of the Pallava king Kāḍuveṭṭi. She seems to have lost both her husband and her son Goggi, on which she attached herself to Taila, Goggiga, Oḍḍuga, and Barma —the four sons of her younger sister who had been married to the Śantara king but who was also dead. She spoke of these children as if they were her own, and together with them constructed *Jinālayas* at Pombucchapura, the capital of the Śāntaras. One of these was the Pañcakūṭa or Pañca *basadi*, known also as Ūrvitilakam (An Ornament to the World). It is in regard to the construction of this *basadi* that we have the following statements made— Thinking on the text—*Dharma* is the first concern—and saying 'Let me make a memorial for the departure of Arumulideva, Gāvabbarasi, Vīrala Devī, and Rājādityadeva'—

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 262, pp. 41-42.

Caṭṭaladevī undertook the task of making the Pañcabasadi in A.D. 1077. This Śāntara lady's other meritorious works were the following—the construction of tanks, wells, *basadis*, temples, watersheds, sacred bathing places, *satras*, groves, and bestowing gifts of food, medicine, learning and shelter. We may observe here that Caṭṭaladevī's preceptor was Śrīvijaya Bhaṭṭāraka, also known as Paṇḍita Pārijāta, who was proficient in all the Śāstras and Āgamas, and who was the head of the Nandi *gaṇa* of the Aruṅguḷānvaya of the Nidambare *tīrtha* of the Tīyan-*guḍi*. He was also the *guru* of Rakkasa Ganga, the father of Caṭṭaladevī, and of Bīra Deva and Nanni Śāntara.[1]

In a later record dated A. D. 1103 we learn that the same Śāntara lady, who is called "a cow of plenty to the glorious Jina congregation," along with her own sons Bhujabala Śāntara, Nanni Śāntara, and Vikrama Śāntara, granted specified lands to the same Pañcabasadi. And opposite to that *Jinālaya*, in Ānandūr, she and Tribhuvanamalla Śāntara, as a memorial for the death of Bīrabbarasi, laid the foundation stone of another *basadi*, pronouncing the name of Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena Paṇḍita.[2]

Ladies of the Ganga royal family were also noted for their liberal endowments for the cause of the Jina *dharma*. For instance, in about A. D. 1112 Ganga Mahādevī, the *paṭṭada mahādevī* (crowned queen) of Bhujabala Ganga Hemmāḍi Māndhātabhūpa, the king of Gangavāḍi and Meghuṭṭi-Manḍaḷi 1,000, was one of such patrons of the *anekānta-mata*. She is styled in this record as "a female bee at the lotus feet of Jinendra." Her husband king Hemma had another consort named Bācaladevī who erected in Bannikere

1. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 35, pp. 137-138 ; Nr. 39, 40, pp. 143-4.
2. *Ibid.*, Tl. 192, pp 204-205.

a beautiful Jina temple. She was the disciple of Śubhacandradeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa*. For this *caityālaya* which was an ornament in the Mandaḷi 1,000, her husband, Ganga Mahādevī, and the principal officers together with the *Nāḍprabhus*, gave as a gift the village of Būdanagere in the same province and certain lands in Bannikere along with specified money payments. King Hemmāḍi, we may observe by the way, himself was a Jaina. It was he who had built a Jina temple at Kuntalāpura attached to the Krāṇūr *gaṇa* of the Meṣapāṣaṇa *gaccha* and the Mūla *sangha*. His *guru* was Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva. And one of his sons Satya Ganga in A.D. 1112 had built the Ganga *Jinālaya* in the Kuruḷī *tīrtha* granting lands to it to his *guru* Mādhavacandradeva. These details are gathered from records dated A. D. 1112, 1113, and 1115.[1] With such relatives who were devout Jinas, it is no wonder that Caṭṭaladevī's benevolent deeds should have been so successfully carried out.

Another Śāntara princess who promoted the cause of the *anekāntamata* was Pampādevī, the daughter of king Taila and the elder sister of Vikramāditya Śāntara. Epigraphs highly praise this lady. "All the world filled with newly raised towers of painted *caityālayas*, the ears of all the elephants at the points of the compass filled with the sounds of trumpets and drums in Jina festivals, all the sky filled with flags for Jina worship—Pampādevī shone everywhere with the glory of the Arhad *śāsana*. Considering the stories of Jinanātha in the well-known *Mahāpurāṇa* her earrings. the bestowal of the four kinds of gifts to Jina *munis* her bracelets, devotion and praise of Jinapati her beautiful necklace, could king Taila's daughter care for the weight of ornaments on her person?" In one month she herself caused

1. *E. C.* VIII, Nr, Sh. 60, 64, 97, pp. 22-25, 35.

to be made Śāsanadevate in the same manner as the famous Ūrvitilakam had been constructed. Pampādevī's foremost desire was the following—the performance of the *aṣṭa-vidhārccane*, the *mahābhiṣekam*, and *caturbhakti*. Her daughter was Bācaladevi who was reckoned to be a second Attimabbe. This devout and generous lady "was ever regular in morning worship at sunrise of the feet of Arhan." Both mother and daughter, so we are informed in the inscription dated A. D. 1147, were the disciples of the illustrious Vādībhasimha Ajitasena Paṇḍita. They and Vikrama Śāntara had the northern *paṭṭaśāle* to the Ūrvitilakam constructed.[1] We cannot make out whether Bācaladevi mentioned here was identical with her namesake to be mentioned later on, who was one of the two consorts of the Ganga king Bhujabala Permmāḍideva.

The credit of maintaining the *anekāntamata* was also shared by the wives of the great Jaina generals. Foremost among them was the wife of the celebrated Jaina general Ganga Rāja, Lakkale or Lakṣmīmatī. She was styled Lakṣmīmatī Daṇḍanāyakiti. And she was the disciple of Śubhacandra, who is described as "a Siddhanandi in philosophy." Lakkale is described in a record assigned to A. D. 1118 as "the lady of policy in business," and " the lady of victory in battle," to her husband Ganga Rāja. She caused a new *Jinālaya* to be built in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about the same year.[2] It was to some of the Jina temples erected by her that Ganga Rāja, as we related in an earlier context, granted liberal endowments.[3] Like her husband Lakkale bestowed the gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and

1. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 37, pp. 141-142.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 130, pp. 57-58.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 73, op. cit.

learning, and acquired thereby the name of being " a mine of auspiciousness."[1] Indeed, such was her unparalleled devotion that the scribe who wrote the epigraph dated A. D. 1121 asks the question—" Can other women in the world equal Lakṣmīyāmbike, wife of Ganga Rāja, in skill, beauty, and deep devotion to God ? " In that same year, however, Lakṣmīmatī Daṇḍanāyakiti adopting the *saṁnyasana* ended her life by *samādhi ;* and her husband as an act of reverence, set up an epitaph (at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa) and consecrated it with great gifts and worship.[2]

Ganga Rāja, as we have already seen, had an elder brother whose wife was called Jakkaṇabbe. This lady too was called *Daṇḍanāyakiti,* obviously, as the late Mr. Narasimhacarya suggested, after her husband's title.[3] Jakkaṇabbe was also the disciple of Śubhacandradeva. She was the mother of General Boppa. After observing the vow known as *mokṣu-tilaka,* she caused the god to be carved on the boulder Nōmbare (*Nōmbare-nayaṇade dēvaru*) and had it consecrated at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about A.D. 1120. In that same year a tank was built there by her.[4] In A. D. 1123 she is praised in very high terms. She " was always admired and praised by the whole earth as one who with the greatest reverence caused the worship of Jina to be performed, and as the possessor of pure conduct and many qualities."[5]

The same name Jakkiyabbe was also borne by the wife of another remarkable Jaina general Puṇisamayya. This lady is likewise styled a *Daṇḍanāyakiti* ; and a record assign-

1. *E. C.* II, 127, p. 56.
2. *Ibid.,* 128, p. 56.
3. *Ibid.,* Intr., p. 54.
4. *Ibid.,* 367, 384, 400, pp. 160, 161, 170.
5. *Ibid.,* 117, p. 48.

ed to A.D. 1117 informs us that she constructed a stone *basadi* in Basti Hosakōṭe, Krishnarājapēṭe tāluka, to the north of which her husband built the Mūlasthāna *basadi* attached to the Viṣṇuvardhana Poysala *Jinālaya.* It was to this *basadi* which he built that, as narrated in another context, he granted specified villages. Another stone inscription found in the same place (Basti Hosakōṭe), we may incidentally note, asserts that the only women who could compare with her were Sītā and Rukmiṇī.[1]

The history of a Jina temple in Sembūr (mod. Śambanūr) in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka, brings to light the devotion of another Jaina patroness. She was the Senior Daṇḍanāyakiti Kāḷiyakka, the wife of Sūrya Daṇḍanāyaka. This official was a minister-general under the viceroy Pāṇḍya in the reign of the Western Cālukyan monarch Tribhuvanamalla Permmāḍi Deva. The Senior Daṇḍanāyakiti having made a vow in A. D. 1128 constructed a beautiful Jina temple in Sembūr, and for the company of Pārśvadeva, the service of the god, and livelihood of the priests, gave specified lands as gifts to Śāntīśayana Paṇḍita.[2]

In A. D. 1139 we are introduced to three noble ladies whose pious deeds centred round the great stronghold Uddhare. The events to be narrated took place in the reign of the king Mārasinga of the Gangavaṁśa, who ruled over the Kuntala *viṣaya* in which was situated Uddhare. Under him was his son Ekkala, while the suzerain lord was the Western Cālukyan monarch Jagadekamalla (II, Permma) (A.D. 1138—A.D. 1150). The younger sister of king Mārasinga was Suggiyabbarasi, whose *guru* was Māghanandi. She gave gifts of food to Jaina sages and decorated the Pañca *basadi* in Uddhare,

1. *M. A. R.* for 1920, p. 32.
2. *E. C.* XI, Dg. 90, pp. 68-69.

granting lands in Savanabiḷi for the same. After some time that estate was added to by Kanakiyabbarasi. Of this lady it is said that wherever there was no Jina temple, there she provided a Jina *mandira*; and wherever the Jina *munis* had no place which produced an income, she gave them grants. Mention is made in the same epigraph of Śāntiyakka, whose father was Kōṭi Śeṭṭi and mother Boppavve. Her uncle was Boppa Daṇḍanāyaka, and her husband was also called Kōṭi Śeṭṭi. This person who made the *basadi* in Uddhare, is styled the "supporter of the Jina *dharma*." King Ekkala mentioned above, we may note in passing, was the disciple of Bhānukīrti Siddhāntadeva of the Tintriṇīka *gaccha* and the Krāṇūr *gaṇa*. He is said to have constructed the Kanaka *Jinālaya* in Uddhare, and given it over to the charge of his *guru* along with specific lands.[1]

To this period belongs the saintly figure of Śāntaladevī, the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhanadeva. Lithic records found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and elsewhere eulogize the beauty, skill, piety, and devotion of this remarkable queen. She was the eldest daughter of the Senior Pērggaḍe Mārasingayya, a staunch Śaivite, and the virtuous Mācikabbe, an ardent Jaina! Her younger brother was Dudda Mahādeva, while her uncle was the Pērggaḍe Singimayya.[2] An expert in singing, instrumental music, and dancing, she was also renowned for her beauty. An inscription dated A. D. 1123 praises her beauty in two exquisite verses.[3] Her *guru* was Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, the disciple of Meghacandra Traividyadeva, of the Pustaka *gaccha* and the Deśiya *gaṇa*.[4]

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 232, pp. 35-36.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 132, pp. 60, 73.
3. *Ibid.*, 131, p. 58, text„ p. 57.
4. *Ibid.*, 132, p. 60. He died in A.D. 1145. *Ibid.*, 140, p. 67.

Queen Śāntaladevī's work to promote the cause of the Jina *dharma* was lasting. She was the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* (or creeds), and she delighted in gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, and in the narration of stories relating to Jainism. It was she who had the image of Śānti Jinendra at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa made in A.D. 1123. In the same year she caused to be erected the Savatigandhavāraṇa *basadi* in the same holy place; and with the permission of king Viṣṇuvardhana, granted the village of Moṭṭēnavile (situation specified) to her *guru* for the worship of the god and food for ascetics in the same *basadi*. To this gift was added in the same year specified lands below the Gangasamudra.[1] To the same *basadi* she (called in this record Cantaladevī) gave the village of Kāvanahaḷḷi (location specified), along with her younger brother Dudda Mahādeva, in order to meet the expenses of the god in the Vīra Kongāḷva *Jinālaya* (the situation of which is indistinct in the record).[2] All this work earned for her deserved praise. She was the "crest jewel of perfect faith," and "a rampart to the Jina faith."[3]

True to the instruction of the Jina *dharma*, she died by the orthodox manner of *sallekhanā* in A. D. 1131 at the holy place of Śivaganga (thirty miles to the north-west of Bangalore). The inscription dated in that year continues to narrate that on her death, her parents too died. Of the death of her mother, we have some details. "The queen has attained to the state of the gods; I cannot remain (behind)", thus saying her mother Mācikabbe, coming to

1. *E. C.* II, 131, 132, pp. 60, 75.
2. *M. A. R.* for 1927, p. 104.
3. *E. C.* II, pp. 60, 75. Read also *M. A. R.* for 1917, p. 10, for the work she did in Śāntigrāma, according to tradition.

Belgoḷa, adopted severe *saṁnyasana*, and renouncing the world died. The half closed eyes, the repetition of the five expressions, the method of meditating on Jinendra, the dignity of taking leave of relations, indicating *saṁnyasana*, Mācikabbe fasting cheerfully for one month, easily attained the state of the gods by *samādhi* in the presence of all the blessed, among whom were Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva, Vardhamānadeva, and Ravicandradeva. If the queen Śāntaladevī was an austere follower of the Jina *dharma*, her mother was a still more puritan devotee; and it is not surprising that the engraver Bōkimayya should inform us that "the whole world is extolling her (Mācikabbe) and that it is impossible for the panegyrist to describe her."[1]

The noble example set by the queen Śāntaladevī and her mother Mācikabbe could not but have had a profound effect on the women of the times. Royal ladies showed how firm was the hold which the Jina *dharma* had on the Hoysala House. King Viṣṇuvardhanadeva's daughter was Hariyabbarasi, who is called "the eldest younger sister of Kumāra Ballāḷa Deva," (*i. e.*, king Narasimha I). She was a devout Jaina, and the wife of the lord (*vibhu*) Singha, and the lay disciple of Gaṇḍavimukta Siddhāntadeva. In Hantiyūr in Koḍanginād̤ she caused to be erected in A. D. 1129 a lofty *caityālaya* with *gōpuras* surmounted by rounded pinnacles which were set with all manner of jewels. And to provide for the repairs, etc., of this temple, she obtained land freed by the Hoysala king her father, from Cinna of Gutti and the fisherman Bamma at a special price, granting it to her *guru* named above.[2]

Other examples of unvarnished devotion among royal

1. *E. C.* II, 143, pp. 73-74.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, Mg., 22, pp. 62-63.

ladies may also be given here. Jakkavve or Jakkale was the wife of Cāvimayya, the Great Minister and Senior Betel-bearer of king Narasimhadeva. Hearing that Heragu was praised by all as a good place, she had a *basadi* built there dedicated to Cenna Pārśvanātha to which she granted land, after having made an application for the same to the Hoysala king Narasimha, in the presence of all the chiefs of that locality. Her *guru* was the learned Nayakīrti Siddhanta deva, who was "skilled in all grammar, in logic, in poetry, in composing verse with purpose, in philosophy. in religious lore, in worldly wisdom, in all arts, (and) in agreeable speech."[1]

Māciyakke, the wife of the Commander Īśvara, who has already figured in the above pages, was another lady who set a good example. She was the daughter of Sāhaṇi Biṭṭiga, and the disciple of Gaṇḍavimuktadeva. She was considered to be the protector of the creeds of the four castes. In the holy place of Māyadavoḷal she had a Jina *mandira* made for which she presented a tank called Padmāvatīkere along with specified land in about A. D. 1160.[2]

To the same reign of king Narasimha is to be assigned the work of Siriyādevī, one of the wives of the feudatory Sāmanta Gōva about whom too we have narrated a few details in the preceding pages. From the pedestal of the Viṣṇu image in the Ranganātha temple at Huḷiyūr, Chikamagaḷūr tāluka, we learn that she caused a Jina image to be constructed in the *basadi* at Huḷiyūr obviously at the instance of her *guru* Candrāyaṇadeva.[3]

1. *E. C.*, V, Hn. 57, p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, XII, Tm. 38, p. 10.
3. *M. A. R. for 1918*, p. 45. There is no Jaina image now in this Hindu temple.

Lest it may be supposed that the example thus set by the noble ladies had hardly any effect on the mass of the people, we may proceed to give a few instances of Jina devotees among the citizens of the Hoysala Empire. A rare type of a strict adherent of the Jina *dharma* was Haryyale who, as is related in a record assigned to A.D. 1174, called her son Bhūvaya Nāyaka, and said—" Even in your dream think not of me but think of *dharma*. Always perform *dharma*, for by doing so you will reap the rewards (named)—thus, Bhūvaya Nāyaka, do I beseech you. That both you and I may obtain boundless merit, make a Jina temple, Bhūvi Deva. Always honour the friends of my god, and take special care of your junior uncle." After this, anointing Jinapati, she received the sandal water with the resolve to wash away her sins. Then, in the presence of the feet of Jinendra, repeating with a loud voice the five words, without forgetting them, Haryyale, by means of the tomb died.[1] And like her in the same year died Hariharadevī, the disciple of Candrāyaṇadeva.[2]

In the succeeding generations, too, it was the ladies of the higher rank that set the example. The Senior Hērggaḍiti Acaladevī was the wife of the Śaivite General Candramauḷi. She had become pre-eminent for the four traditional gifts she gave. The learned Nayakīrti was her *guru*. She had a fine *Jinālaya* dedicated to Pārśvanātha constructed in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa ; and it was to this temple, as we saw in an earlier context, that on the application of Candramauḷi the king Ballāḷa gave the village of Bammeyanahaḷḷi. And the merchants (*nānādeśis*) together with the representatives of the *nāḍu* and the *nagara* (the city corporation) likewise

1. *E. C.* XII, Tp. 93, p. 60.
2. *Ibid.*, Tp. 94, p. 61.

granted specified money dues for the maintenance of the temple. These gifts were received by Nayakīrti's disciple Bālacandradeva in A.D. 1182.[1] In the same year the Hoysala king added the village of Bekka to the above gift.[2]

Somaladevī was the wife of the devout Jaina minister Ecaṇa. She too had a *basadi* erected in A.D. 1207 in Beḷagavattināḍ for the worship of which she granted specified lands.[3]

The sincerity of purpose which lay behind the lives of the common people is seen in the numerous cases of self immolation by the rite of *samādhi* towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1190 Śāntiyakka or Śāntale, the daughter of Sankaya Nāyaka and Muddavve, and the disciple of Nayakīrti, attained salvation by this method.[4] Ten years later Māḷavve, on hearing the news of the death of her daughter-in-law Cauṇḍiyakka, displayed the six virtues of devotion allowed for the females, and died by the same manner (in *circa* A.D. 1200).[5] Jakkave, the disciple of Kamalasenadeva, in A.D. 1206, followed suit according to the prescribed method.[6] About six years later (in A.D. 1212) another woman of the same name but the daughter of Mandaṇa Mudda, and the wife of the renowned Bharata, won celebrity in a like manner. "Through imbibing the

1. *E. C.* II, 327, pp. 136-139; see also 331, p. 140; V, Cn. 150, pp. 192-193, op. cit.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 256, p. 115.

3. *Ibid.* VII, Sk. 320, p. 115.

4. *Ibid.*, Sk. 200, p. 127.

5. *Ibid.*, XII, Gb. 5, p. 17.

6. *M. A. R.* for 1929, p. 126. This corrects *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 46.

nectar of Jina teaching, having given up the false impressions of the mind, and being filled with desire to attain to the purity set forth in the doctrine, having given up all, saying, 'Not so much as a gain is mine', Jakkavve thinking on her god, came to a decision. Thus placing herself at the lotus feet of Jina, fixing her eyes on the tip of the nose, and listening to the words of the Āgama, with ears and eyes having completed *saṁnyasana,* by the rite of *samādhi*", Jakkavve died.[1]

1. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 196, p. 123.

CHAPTER VI.

POPULAR SUPPORT

The policy of the Jaina leaders explained—The importance of the commercial classes called Vīra Baṇajigas—Harmonious relations between the Jainas and the non-Jainas—Examples of devotion among citizens—Prominent Jaina centres enumerated: Śravaṇa Belgoḷa—Paudanapura—Kopaṇa—Digression: Identification of Konkinapulo with Kopaṇa—Cikka Hanasoge — Pombucca — Kellengare — Baḷḷigāme — Kuppaṭūr — Uddhare — Heggare — Śringeri — Kolhapur — Bandaṇike — Dorasamudra—Arasiyakere—The Jainas as town-planners.

EVER since the advent of Jainism into southern India, Jaina *gurus* had striven as much for their ancient religion as for the interests of the country. And in this they had wisely had recourse to a policy which appealed to all classes of people. From the foregoing pages it must have been apparent to the reader that the methods adopted by the Jaina sages to gain their ends were, indeed, well devised and comprehensive. By playing the part of king-makers, they had secured for generations royal patronage. Winning over the feudal lords and the great commanders assured them of success in the various provincial seats over which these high officials were placed. And the next element to be brought within the fold of the Jina *dharma* was the popu-

lace. Here too the Jaina leaders showed the practical side of their philosophical teachings by securing the allegiance of the most important section of the middle classes—the Vīra Baṇajigas and the commercial classes, whose financial aid was of inestimable value for the cause of the *anekāntamata*. With the immense wealth of which the Vīra Baṇajigas were the traditional custodians, the Jina sages had magnificent *Jinālayas* and images constructed. The spectacular effect of these noble monuments together with the active support which kings, feudatories, royal ladies, and generals gave Jainism, must have been greatly responsible for the popularity and strength of that religion throughout the land. But the most practical means which they adopted to win for themselves the allegiance and devotion of the masses was that relating to the four gifts of learning, food, medicine and shelter—the primary needs of humanity. The insistence of these gifts on the part of the richer sections of the people must have had the inevitable effect of drawing to the Jina fold the larger sections of the populace among whom Jainism had made rapid strides from the ninth onwards till the fourteenth century A.D.

Profound Jaina teachers had certainly contributed to the strength of the Jina *dharma* in the early centuries of the Christian era. But it is only when we come to the ninth century and after that we meet with the widespread prevalence of the *anekāntamata*. This will be evident when we have narrated a few details concerning some of the most important Jaina centres. Among these figures Cikka Hanasōge a lithic record of which assigned to A.D. 910 refers to a remarkable citizen. It was in the reign of Ereya, evidently the Ganga king Ereyappa, when a Jaina teacher named Eḷācārya, who subsisted on water for one month, died by *samādhi*. It is in connection with the death of this teacher that we come

across Aṣṭopavāsa Kalnele Devar who set a *niśidhi* in memory of his *guru*. This person is described as having been *a moving tīrtha* suggesting thereby that he was a citizen of exceptional piety.[1]

Evidence concerning the genuine endeavours made by the people to perpetuate the Jina *dharma* became more and more prominent in the succeeding generations. In about A.D. 1060 during the reign of the king Kacchara Kandarpa Senamāra, Niravadyayya was granted Mahendravoḷalu. This citizen was the disciple of Mahadeva Bhaṭāra of the Devagaṇa and the Pāṣāṇānvaya. Niravadyayya erected a *Jinālaya* after his own name on the Melasa rock, and bestowed on it the village he had received from the king. And the representatives of the adjoining country called the Eḍemale 1,000 granted each from their paddy fields a specified measure of rice.[2]

The real clue to the understanding of the high position which Jainism held in the land is seen in the ardour and devotion of the commercial classes. One of the powerful officials of the king Vīra Śāntara Deva in A.D. 1062 was the Paṭṭaṇasvāmi (Lord Mayor) Nokkayya Śeṭṭi. This commercial magnate constructed the Paṭṭaṇasvāmi *Jinālaya* in Humcca for the worship, etc., of which he presented the village called Moḷakere which he had bought from the king for 100 *gadyāṇas*. The donee is called the *Sahudharma* Sakalacandradeva, but Nokkayya's *guru* was Divākaranandideva. Nokayya, who had the title of *Samyaktva-vārāsi*, had images of the Jina gods in

1. *M. A. R. for 1913-1914*, p. 38. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya identified the *guru* mentioned here with his namesake spoken of in another record as having been the disciple of Śrīdharadeva.

2. *E. C.* VI. Cm. 75, pp. 43-44.

gold, silver, precious stone, and the five metals constructed in Māhura, together with five large tanks named Śantagere, Moḷagere, Paṭṭaṇasvāmigere, and Talaviṇḍegere. Further by spending 100 *gadyāṇas* he made the Ugure stream enter the Pāgimagala tank.[1] The beneficial works of Nokkayya Śeṭṭi, therefore, were not confined merely to works of religious merit but to those which brought much material good to the people.

The king rewarded such benevolent persons. And, as the same epigraph relates, Nokkayya was presented with a badge (*paṭṭa*) of gold by his king for his good works.[2] And another inscription dated about A.D. 1077 relates that he was styled "a portable *tīrtha* in the middle of the forest the Śāntali country", a Kānīna in making gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning", and an ocean of good character. This latter record informs us that he erected another Jina temple also in Humcca, called the Tīrthada *basadi*, for which the next Śāntara ruler Tailapa Deva granted the village of Bījakana Bayal as an endowment. It is from this record that we learn that this *guru* Divākaranandi, who possessed the five *mahākalyāṇas*, the eight *mahāpratihāryas*, and the thirty-four *atiśaysas*, who was well versed in both Siddhāntas, wrote a *vṛtti* in Kannaḍa to the *Tattvārthasūtra*.[3]

The importance of the commercial classes is also seen from the fact that well known Jina temples were entrusted to their charge. For instance in A.D. 1195 the Nagara *Jinālaya* at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, which had been constructed by the minister Nāgadeva, was placed in the custody of the Vīra Baṇajigas

1 & 2. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 58, pp. 153-154.
3. *Ibid.* Nr. 57, p. 153.

of the locality. This is proved by the concluding lines of the epigraph which run thus—"The merchants who were the protectors of that *Jinālaya,* born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, devoted to truth and purity, possessed of the lion's valour, skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many seaports, adorned with the famous three jewels (*viz., samyak-jñāna* [right knowledge], *samyak-darśana* [right faith], and *samyak-carita* [right conduct]), the merchants residing at the holy Belgoḷa acquired celebrity on earth."[1]

For more than a century this noble monument continued to be under the protection of the Jaina merchants of the same *tīrtha.* This is proved by the records dated A.D. 1279 and A.D. 1288. In the former it is said that the Pūjāris of the Nakhara *Jinālaya,* agreeing among themselves, gave a deed to all the merchants of Belgoḷa in which the priests promised the merchants to carry on all the services in the Nagara *Jinālaya* "agreeable to the scale fixed by the merchants."

The latter epigraph dated A.D. 1288 is more explicit on the question of the direct control exercised by the merchants of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in the management of the Nagara *Jinālaya.* All the jewel merchants of that place and Jinanāthapura agreeing among themselves, signed a deed by which they unanimously gave for the repairs of the temple of the god Ādi of the same *Jinālaya,* certain specified duties. The penalty imposed on those who violated this agreement and the signatures of the merchants clearly prove the corporate nature of the deed. The penalty is expressed thus—"If one denies or conceals (his income) in this matter, his race shall be childless; he shall be a traitor to the god, a traitor to

1 *E. C.* II, 335, p. 143. See also *ibid.*, Intr., p. 33, n. (1).

the king, and a traitor to the creed." The deed was signed by all merchants, and it included their sign-manual-Śrī Gommaṭa.[1]

Piety sometimes was combined with learning. There were two brothers named Māci Śeṭṭi and Kāli Śeṭṭi in the reign of king Ballâḷa I. The elder Māci Śeṭṭi was learned in logic and grammar, able in commentating, supremely wise in all thé sayings of the scriptures, and celebrated for devoting his wealth to works of piety. His equal in liberality was his younger brother Kāli Śeṭṭi. For the Nakhara *Jinālaya* of Belgoḷa they granted lands (specified) together with customs dues in A.D. 1078, and to these the Śeṭṭis of the locality added further grants of land.[2]

The good feeling that existed between the followers of the Jina *dharma* and those who belonged to the other religions which must have been apparent to the reader from the preceding pages, is further borne out by the following instances of devout Jainas helping the benevolent work of Brahmans. Padmōja, who is described as "the frontal ornament of sculptors, a bee at the lotus feet of the Sarasvatī *gaṇa,* and a worshipper of the feet of Jina", was the official who advertised the grant of land for a *satra* (alms house) made by Divākara Sarvātithya, the chief of the Brahmans of the *agrahāra* of Īsavura in Hosavūr in A.D. 1080.[3] About the same year Biṇeya Bammu Śeṭṭi built and endowed a *Jinālaya* in Sikārpura, and erected a *satra* for the thousand Brahmans of an *agrahāra* the name of which is effaced in the record.[4]

1. *E. C.* II, 336, p. 144.
2. *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 101, pp. 61-62.
3. *Ibid*, VII. Sk. 293, p. 149.
4. *Ibid*, Sk. 8, p. 39.

Such spontaneous liberality was appreciated by the State. The following example further proves our assertion. Nokkayya was the son of Poleyamma and Keleyabbe.[1] Once when he was in Taṭṭekere, the king Tribhuvanamalla Ganga Permmāḍi Deva paid a visit to that town in A.D. 1085, and gave him the whole of the government of that city. The great minister, Senior Pērggaḍe Nokkayya, who was the disciple Prabhācandra Siddhāntadeva of the Meṣapāṣaṇa *gaccha,* enlarged a tank, formed paddy fields, erected a temple, and established places for distribution of food. He built a *basadi* with the big tank of Taṭṭakere surrounding it. His elder son Gujjaṇa was opposed to it ; but on the latter's death, Nokka Perggaḍe erected two Jina *basadis* in Harige and Nelavatti. And when Nokka's second son Jinadeva too died, the ruler Ganga Permmaḍi himself, as a reward for Nokka's liberality and boldness, for the two *basadis* which the latter had built, granted the following royal rewards—the royal insignia of two horses, canopy, *cāmaras,* and big drums, along with the *gāvuṇḍavrtti* of eight specified villages, twenty horses, and 500 slaves together with the fixed rent of the villages, (named), free of all imposts, as a perpetual gift.

The Great Minister Pērggaḍe Nokkayya's liberality was now doubled. He erected four *basadis* and granted specified lands for the Sthanāpati of the Jina settlements belonging to the Gaṇa *gaccha.* And once again the generous monarch granted the shop-tax and customs dues of Taṭṭekere to his

1. He is not the same as Paṭṭaṇasvāmi Nokkayya mentioned above, since the latter is called the son of Ammaṇa. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 57, p. 153. Moreover the difference in the names of their *gurus* is to be also noted in this connection.

liberal minister.[1]

Not officials alone but merchants of the royal household and other high dignitaries as well were responsible for the continuance of the Jina *dharma.* Bhujabala Ganga Permmāḍi, Bamma Gāvuṇḍa, Biṭṭideva, and the Nāḍ-prabhu whose name is not given in the record dated A.D. 1111, granted specified land for a *basadi* in Shimoga along with six houses and an oil mill.[2] Their work was insignificant when compared with what the royal merchants (*rāja-śreṣṭhi*) Poysala Śeṭṭi and the graceful and sagacious Nēmi Śeṭṭi did in A.D. 1117. They were the royal merchants to king Poysala, and were famous as " the warm supporters of the Jina *dharma* (which) spread widely (over the earth)." For the Jina temple and a *mandāra* (which was a car-like structure sculptured on all sides with fifty-two Jaina figures, supposed to represent the island of Nandīśvara) which their mothers Mācikabbe and Śāntikabbe had caused to be constructed, Poysala Śeṭṭi and Nēmi Śeṭṭi made suitable gifts.[3]

Some interesting details concerning Hoysala Śeṭṭi are available in epigraphs. He had the title of *Tribhuvanamalla Caladanka Rāva,* and his wife was called Caṭṭikabbe. This lady was a devout Jaina who delighted in the four kinds of gifts. When in about A.D. 1130 her husband, after bestowing the title *Caladanka Rāva Hoysala Śeṭṭi* on Malli Śeṭṭi of the Passport Department (*yuṇḍigeya*) of Ayyāvole, died by the rite of *sallekhanā,* she caused an epitaph to be made as an act of reverence to her husband and her son Būcaṇa.[4]

1. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 10, pp. 11-12.
2. *Ibid,* Sh. 89, pp. 34-35.
3. *Ibid,* II., 137, p. 64, and *ibid,* n. 1.
4. *Ibid,* II, 159, p. 78. See also *ibid.* Intr. p. 55 ; 402 dated A.D. 1138 where Hoysala Śeṭṭi's son is mentioned. *Ibid.* p. 170.

The ordinary title *Caladanka*, however, was borne by other merchants as well. Thus in A.D. 1120 *Caladankavāḷa* Heḍe Jīya along with two merchants who bore the same name Māci Śeṭṭi, and another merchant called Madi Śeṭṭi, repaired a pit to the right of Gommaṭeśvara at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa granting dues for the same.[1]

The commercial classes were not the only adherents of the Jina *dharma*. The agricultural sections of the people too were devout Bhavyas. When in A.D. 1154 Pārīśvasena Bhaṭṭāraka repaired the ruined *basti* of Śāntinātha at Hoḷalkere, and when the grants made by Voḍḍama Gauḍa and others had been interrupted, it was that Gauḍa's sons (named) and others who petitioned the government official Pratāpa Nāyaka, after paying 100 *gadyāṇas*, to grant the lands behind the Hiriyakere tank and the tribute from the houses of the citizens for the worship and offerings of the Śāntinātha *basadi*.[2]

But it must be confessed that from the practical point of view the piety of the Vīra Baṇajigas was more important for the cause of Jainism than the devotion of the Gauḍas. This will be evident when we examine a few inscriptions of the latter half of the twelfth century. The earliest among these is that dated A.D. 1165 relating to the construction of a *Jinālaya* by the Śilahāra general Kāḷana mentioned in an earlier connection. The protectors of the public charity made by the Raṭṭa king Kārtavīrya and others, were the Vīra Baṇañju merchants and their leaders, the 500 Svāmis of Ayyāvole and the 1,700 Gavare, Mummuridaṇḍa, Ubhaya-nānādeśis, and the Tāḷa-samasta of Ekkasambuge who, in addition to the above duty, unanimously agreed to

1. *E. C.* II, 377, p. 162.
2. *Ibid*, XI, Hk. 1, p. 115.

pay certain specified dues for the worship, etc., in the *basadi.*[1] For the worship of the splendid Jina temple at Māguḍi constructed by Śānkara Sāmanta in about A.D. 1182 which we mentioned in connection with Rēca Daṇḍanātha's endowments, the Baṇañju of the four places and the Mummuri Daṇḍa granted certain specified dues on the value of the treasures brought by all the merchants of various countries.[2] And in A.D. 1195 a dancing hall and a stone pavement in front of the god Kamaṭha-Pārśvadeva at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, we may be permitted to repeat, constructed by the Paṭṭaṇasvāmī Nāgadeva were likewise entrusted to the charge of the merchants born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, and skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many ports, but residing at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[3]

The popularity of the Jina *dharma* among the masses is seen from the many examples of devotion met with in the lithic records. In A.D. 1199 the god Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha of the Hiriya *basadi* at Baḷḷigāme stood in need of voluntary aid. Heggaḍe Hiriyaṇṇa, the *Adhikāri* of the city, and a few others (named) granted certain customs dues to the priest Padmanandideva for the worship in the *basadi.* This was in the reign of king Ballāḷa II.[4] Honni Śeṭṭī and other Bhavyas of Śāntigrāma in the Hassan district, in the reign of the same monarch, set up in about A.D. 1200 the image of Sumati Bhaṭṭāraka of the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi* and the Deśiya *gaṇa.*[5] Malli Śeṭṭi had the outer wall of the Ādīśvara *basadi* of Niṭṭūr in the Gubbi tāluka, adorned with

1. *M. A. R.* for 1916, p. 49.
2. *E. C.* VII. SK. 197, p. 127.
3. *Ibid,* II. 335, p. 143.
4. *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 46.
5. *Ibid* for 1917, p. 60

images all round in about A.D. 1219.[1]

In the thirteenth century A.D., too, the ardour of the citizens for the cause of the *anekāntamata* never flagged. Paduma Śeṭṭi was a typical Bhavya. Possessed of all good qualities, he was devoted to stories relating to the *Sad-dharma* (*i.e.*, Jainism), delighting in the four kinds of gifts. His son was Gommaṭa Śeṭṭi, who in A.D. 1131 gave specified sum of money for the worship of Gommaṭadeva at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This was in the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha II.[2]

Gangeyana Māra's charitable endowments were more creditable. He was the disciple of Nēmi Paṇḍita of the Vāṇadabaḷi, Pustaka *gaccha*, and the Mūla *sangha*. His great work was the construction of the Pārśva *Jinālaya* at the top of the rock to the south of the Badara tank on the inaccessible hill-fortress of Niḍugal which had the other name of Kāḷāñjana. This *basadi* was also named Jōgavaṭṭige *basadi*. For the daily worship and distribution of food in this *basadi*, Gangeyana Māra and his wife Bācale obtaining lands from their royal master the Coḷa ruler Irungoḷa Deva, granted them, while some of the neighbouring cultivators granted specified betel leaves, arecanuts, and oil for the same purpose.[3]

Purchasing land and freeing it from all obligations and bestowing it as charitable endowments for the Jaina institutions was a noteworthy feature of the times. Having purchased specified lands at Mattiyakere from the *Mahāmaṇḍa-*

1. *E. C.* XII Gb. 8, p. 17.
2. *Ibid*, II. 186, p. 90.
3. *Ibid*, XII. Pg. 52, pp. 124-125. The image of Pārśvanātha in the same Pārśvanātha *basadi* on the Nidugal fort was constructed by the Bhavyas of Beḷḷumbaṭṭe, who were also the disciples of the same Nēmicandra Bhaṭṭāraka. *M. A. R.* for 1918, p. 45.

lācārya Nayakīrtideva's disciple Candraprabhadeva, Śambhudeva and three others (named) granted the same for the milk offerings of Gommaṭadeva and the twenty-four Tīrthankaras at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in A.D. 1273 in the reign of the Hoysala king Narasimha III.[1] Likewise in A.D. 1280 in the reign of the same monarch, all the farmers of Arakoṭṭāra having freed the *basadi* of that locality from all the obligations of money payments, granted the water-rate, alms, house-tax, poll-tax, the *nicaṇḍi,* and other dues for the same *basadi.*[2]

The same procedure was adopted in A.D. 1282 when all the jewel merchants (*māṇikya nagarangaḷ*) of Belgoḷa desired to make some endowments. Together with the royal *guru* Nēmicandra Paṇḍita's disciple Bāḷacandradeva, these merchants, who belonged to the Balātkāra *gaṇa,* and who were the disciples of the *Mahāmaṇḍalācārya* Māghanandi, purchased wet land from Bālacandradeva, and gave it along with other lands for the worship of the god Ādi of the Nagara *Jinālaya.*[3]

If there were devout Bhavyas who could purchase lands and give them for the offerings in a *basadi,* there were also austere Jainas who could lay down their lives in the orthodox manner. Soma Gauḍa was the eldest son of Masaṇa Gauḍa of Cikka Muguḷi, and the disciple of Śreyāmśa Bhaṭṭāraka of the Pustaka *gaccha* and the Hanasōge *baḷi.* When Soma Gauḍa died in A.D. 1280 by *samādhi,* his son Heggaḍe Gauḍa not only set up a memorial stone but also gave lands (specified) for the eight kinds of worship in the local *basadi.*[4]

1. *E. C.* II. 246, p. 104.
2. *Ibid,* IV. Ch. 84, p. 10.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 334, pp. 141-142.
4. *Ibid,* VI. Cm. 2, p. 35. For an earlier example in A.D. 1132, see *ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 97, p. 14.

In the reign of the next monarch Ballāḷa III, whose age heralds the Vijayanagara epoch, a large section of the people was still devoted to the *anekāntamata.* Bāhubali Śeṭṭi and Pāriśeṭṭi had constructed the Ekkōṭi *Jinālaya* which contained the god Padmaprabha. A tank was needed for the *Jinālaya* and lands to meet the expenses of worship. And Areya Māreya Nāyaka built the tank, while the lands below it were given as a gift to the *basadi* by various Nāyakas (named) of Kabbālu, along with the Jaina *gurus* Nēmicandra Paṇḍita and Bālacandra mentioned above. These latter, we may note by the way, were the disciples of the *rājaguru* Nayakīrti. But we are unable to determine whether Nayakīrti was the *rājaguru* of king Ballāḷa III. These details are gathered from a stone record dated only in the cyclic year Śrīmukha Vaiśākha.[1]

Nēmicandra mentioned above may be identified with his namesake spoken of in an undated and defaced inscription found at Toḷalu. In this record it is said that the village of Navilūr was granted to that Jaina *guru,* for the services in the *basadi* at the same place, by Hiriya Mudda Gāvuṇḍa, Bili Gauṇḍa, and fifty-two residents of that locality.[2]

Turning now to the various centres in and outside Karnāṭaka from where Jainism radiated, we find that, while most of them completely passed into the hands of the votaries of other religions, a few continued to remain strongholds of Jainism throughout all the ages. In the centres which fell into the hands of the non-Jainas, only mutilated Jaina images and broken slabs bear silent testimony to the once prosperous condition of Jainism in the country. The centres of Jainism may be divided into two groups—the major centres

1. *M. A. R.* for 1927, p. 46.
2. *Ibid*, p. 44.

and the minor places of Jaina influence. We shall first enumerate the major Jaina strongholds, and then pass on to the description of the lesser places of importance.

From the earliest times when Jainism had first made its appearance in the south, it had followed a policy of widespread diffusion which soon secured for it great strongholds in the centre, north, south and west of modern Mysore. These were the following places—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Paudanapura, Kopaṇa, Punnāḍ, Hanasoge, Talakāḍ, Humcca, Baḷḷigāme, Kuppaṭūr, and Vanavase. Of these two were undoubtedly renowned as *mahā-tīrthas*—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Kopaṇa, while Paudanapura seems to have been one of the earliest places associated with the statue of Gommaṭeśvara. The reader must have already surmised from the introductory remarks to this work that the traditions of the great Śrutakevaḷi Bhadrabāhu are connected with Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and Punnāḍ.[1] The populous and wealthy region to which the entire *sangha* was directed, as is related in the earliest rock inscription at Candragiri assigned to A.D. 600, could have been no other than the northern part of Punnāḍ itself.[2] In Kiṭṭūr (Kīrtipura), the capital of Punnāḍ, Vasupūjyadeva of the Tintriṇīka *gaccha,* consecrated an image of Pārśvanātha in A.D. 1179.[3]

As regards Paudanapura we base our remarks concerning its importance on the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription dated A.D. 1180 cited already in connection with the activities of Cām-

1. *E. C.* II. 1, 2, 31, pp. 1, 2, 7. Read also *M. A. R.* for 1912, pp. 3-9.

2. *E. C.* II, 1, p. 1 ; Saletore, *Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭa* in the *Indian Culture,* III, pp. 303-317.

3. *M. A. R.* for 1913-4, p. 37. But all traces of Jainism in Punnāḍ have been obliterated.

uṇḍa Rāya. While narrating the history of the great image which that Minister-General had caused to be built, it was said that the Emperor Bharata, the son of Purudeva, caused to be made near Paudanapura an image of 525 bows in length, resembling the form of the victorious-armed Bāhubali-kevaḷi; that after a lapse of time, a world-terrifying mass of innumerable *kukkuṭasarpas* grew around it; and that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, on being advised that that place was inaccessible, determined to construct another image of similar proportions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[1]

The Paudanapura mentioned here could have been no other than Podan, modern Bodhan, a village lying in Lat. 18° 40′ and Long. 77° 53′ in the Nizāmabād district of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. It was the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Indravallabha, Nityavarṣa, Indra IV. (A.D. 915—A.D. 917). This village is now strewn with an array of antiquities, both Jaina and Brahmanical, which undoubtedly go to prove the antiquity of the place.[2] This fact of its having been the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D., and the fact that in one of the Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions it is said to have contained an image of Gommaṭeśvara, suggest that long before the days of king Indravallabha, it had already come into prominence as a great Jaina centre. But in the reign of that Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, a Vaiṣṇavite temple was built there.[3] Perhaps it is this fact of the *rājadhāni* of Bodhana having completely passed into the hands of non-Jainas, which explains why in the same age Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was informed that it was "an inaccessible" place.

1. *E. C.* II, 234, p. 98 op. cit.
2 & 3. Narsimhacarya, *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 7, pp. 1, 4, Seq.

Next in importance to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa was the *mahā-tīrtha* of Kopaṇa (mod. Kopbal in the south-west of the Nizam's Dominions). This place has not yet been properly surveyed and examined.[1] However the researches conducted since the days of Rice, enable us to give a meagre account of the *mahā-tīrtha* of Kopaṇa. From the seventh century A.D. till the sixteenth century Kopaṇa was reckoned to be a holy place of the Jainas. But there are valid grounds to assume that it was a place of considerable importance to the Buddhist world before it sprang into fame as a *mahā-tīrtha* of the Jainas. Like some other holy places it passed from the hands of the Buddhists into those of the Jainas only to come into the custody of the Hindus afterwards.

The word Kopaṇa has been derived from *kuppe* (hill, heap, elevated spot) + *aṇe* (situation, direction), signifying thereby its location on a hill top.[2] This derivation seems to be correct in view of the fact that in some records to be cited pre-

1. This is admitted by Mr. C. Krishnama Charlu who, on behalf of the Government of H. E. H. Nizam, conducted the first official survey of Kopaṇa, although just before him, Mr. Panduranga B. Desai, M.A., had made personal investigations on his own initiative and discovered many interesting inscriptions in Kopbal and its neighbourhood. Mr. Charlu's results are embodied in *Hyderabad Archæological Series*, No. 12. *The Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Kopbal*; while Mr. Desai's in the *Karnataka Historical Review*, II, pp. 11-15. The late Mr. N. B. Shastry of Kopbal is said to have written an excellent paper on the antiquities of Kopbal, which seems to have been forwarded to the Hyderabad Archæological Dept. This, however, is not accessible to me. The researches of Fleet and Narasimhacarya should also be noted in this connection.

2. Desai, *K. H. R.* II, p. 15. But *aṇe*, according to Keśirāja, also means *sparśane*, touch. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p. 314, (Kittel's ed. Mangalore, 1899).

sently Kopaṇa is styled the *hill of Kopaṇa.* The modern name Kopbal seems to have been in vogue in very early times, since in an inscription also to be cited anon, it is called Kuppāl. The identification of modern Kopbal with Kopaṇa was first made by Rice, and it has been confirmed by recent scholars.[1]

It was the same scholar who provisionally identified Kopaṇa with Konkinapulo mentioned by Yuan Chwang (A.D. 635-A.D. 643).[2] Rice gave no reasons for identifying Kopaṇa with Konkinapulo;[3] but we are now in a position to state that his identification was correct. Yuan Chwang went from the Drāviḍa country northwards into a jungle and passing through an isolated city and a small town, after a journey of above 2,000 *li* towards the north-west, reached Konkinapulo.[4] He describes the country as being above 5,000 *li*, and its capital above 30 *li* in circuit. It contained more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and above 10,000 Brethren who were students of both the Vehicles. Close to the capital was a large monastery with above 300 Brethren—all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery was a tiara of Prince Sarvārthasiddha (*i.e.*, Gautama Buddha); in the temple of another

1. *E. C.* I. p. 15; Desai., *ibid.*, p. 13; Charlu *H. A. S.* No. 12, p. 1.

2 *E. C.* V, Intr. p. 15.

3. On Konkinapulo, read Burnell, *I. A.*, VIII, 145-6; see also his *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 33, ns. (1) and (2) (2nd ed.); Fleet, *I. A.*, XXII, p. 113 seq.; Burgess refuting Fleet, *ibid.*, XXIII. p. 28; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 253, n. (46); Rice, *Karnataka Śabdānuśāsanam* Intr. p. 15, ns. (2) and (3); *My. Gazetteer*, II, p. 206; read also *Jl. of the Bom. R. A. S.;* XI. p. 270, where the city of Konguṇa is mentioned in A.D. 1157; *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, II, pp. 237-239.

4. Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II. p. 238.

monastery near the capital was a sandal wood image of Maitreya. To the north of the capital was a wood of *tāla* trees above 30 *li* in circuit in which was a tope where the past Four Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise. Near the capital on the east side was a tope which had associations with Buddha's preaching. To the south-west of the capital was an Aśoka's tope at the spot where the (*arhat*) Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi made miraculous exhibitions and many converts, and beside the tope the remains of a monastery built by that Arhat.[1]

From the above the following may be deduced :—

(*a*) That in the second half of the seventh century A.D. Konkinapulo was noted for the many relics of Buddhism ;

(*b*) That, on the whole, it contained many monasteries, which are styled by the Chinese traveller Buddhist monasteries ; and

(*c*) That in its neighbourhood, as distinct from the monasteries, was an Aśokan tope.

Now it is precisely in the village of Kopbal that the so-called Gavīmaṭha and Pālkiguṇḍu Edicts of Aśoka have been discovered.[2] And it is only fifty-four miles as the crow flies that another Edict of Aśoka—the Maski Edict—was discovered ; while ninety-four miles from Kopbal was found the Erraguḍi Edict of Aśoka.[3] These discoveries of Aśoka's Edicts in and around Kopbal prove beyond doubt that that place was of considerable importance in the days of the Mauryan Emperor. And they fully justify the epithets—*ādi-tīrtha*

1. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 237.

2. Turner, *The Gavīmaṭha and Pālkiguṇḍu Edicts of Aśoka*, Hyderabad Archæological Series, No. 10.

3. Charlu, *The Kannaḍa Inscription at Kopbal*, p. 1.

and *mahā-tīrtha* given to it in epigraphs.[1]

As regards the second point mentioned above, *viz*., that Kopbal contained many monasteries, tradition current at Kopbal today asserts that there were not less than 772 *basadis* in that place.[2] Hence current tradition connects Kopbal, not with Buddhism, but with Jainism.

And, finally, Yuan Chwang speaks of the many relics of Buddhism at Kopaṇa. These no doubt have yet to be discovered ; but the many ruins pertaining not only to Buddhism as narrated above, but also to Brahmanism and Jainism, that are found in and around Kopbal justify the statement of the Chinese traveller that that centre was noted for its sanctity.[3]

But here some objection may be raised against our assumptions. Firstly, as regards the name. Yuan Chwang gives it as Kongkin(kan)napulo which may have been another rendering of Kopaṇapura. Secondly, the Chinese traveller does not give any detail concerning one special feature of Kopaṇa—the hill-top and the dolmens in that village.[4] While he speaks of the fertile nature of the country, the swarthy complexion of the people, of their rude and rough ways, and of their addition to intellectual and moral acquisitions,[5] he

1. Charlu, *The Kannaḍa Inscription at Kopbal,* p. 3.

2. This detail we owe to Mr. N. S. Rajapurohit and the late Mr. N. B. Shastry. See Charlu, *Kannaḍa Inscrs.*, p. 14.

3 Mr. Desai speaks of the Brahman inscriptions *K. H. R.* II, p. 12.

4. These dolmens are called *Moreyana angaḍi,* meaning not, as Mr. Charlu says, " the shops of the Mauryas ", (*Kann. Inscr.*, p. 1). but as Mr. Desai correctly says " the stalls of the pygmies " called Morayas, *K. H. R.* II, p. 15. In support of Mr. Desai, read Rice, *E. C.* XI, Intr. p. 32.

5. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 238.

says nothing about the little detail of the dolmens which would have settled once for ever the identity of Konkinapulo.

However we may all the same observe that, both on the strength of his own statements and on that of the lithic records, the description of the holy place as given by Yuan Chwang seems to point to a Jaina centre rather than to a Buddhist stronghold. In the first place, the Chinese pilgrim uses an epithet in regard to Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi which is striking. He calls him Arhat Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi, and he tells us that the latter constructed an image of Maitreya in Konkinapulo; that near the Aśokan tope was the spot where the same Arhat made miraculous exhibitions; that there were the remains of a monastery built by that Arhat; and that there was a tope in the neighbourhood of Konkinapulo which contained the relics of Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi.[1] This Arhat Śroṇaviṁśatikoṭi was no other than the *bhikṣu* Śrotaviṁśatikoṭi,[2] who is said to have been born in a place which lay south-west of the capital of I-lan-na-po-fa-to country.[3] While it is certainly admitted that the term Arhat was commonly applied in Buddhist canonical literature to Buddha himself and to transcendental beings, it cannot be understood how the Chinese traveller came to transform his *bhikṣu* into an Arhat. The only supposition is that, notwithstanding his close observation of the Digambara and Švetāmbara Jainas in other parts of the country,[4] Yuan Chwang seems in this one

1. Waters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 237.
2. On the wrong use of this name by the Chinese traveller, read Watters, *ibid*, II, pp. 180, 238.
3. Watters, *ibid.*, II. pp. 178 180.
4. Watters, *ibid.*, II. pp. 2, 154, 155, 252. On the term Arhat used in regard to Buddha, read Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part I, p. 2. See also *ibid.*, pp. 63, 105, 138, 264, where the term is used in regard to laymen, the real Brahman, and priests of God. (S. B. E. Vol. II).

instance to have confounded the Jainas with the Buddhists of Kopaṇapura.

This supposition is strengthened when we note that in the seventh century A.D. Kopaṇa was essentially a Jaina *tīrtha*. Epigraphic evidence proves this. In the Halagēri stone inscription of the Western Cālukyan king Vijayāditya (A.D. 696--A.D. 733) mention is made of this great Jaina sanctuary.[1]

A rapid survey of the epigraphs and one or two notices in literature conclusively shows that Kopaṇa remained a great *tīrtha* for the Jainas from the seventh till the sixteenth century A.D. In the Ganjam plates issued by the Ganga king Mārasinga Ereyappa, and assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 800, we have one of the witnesses styled thus—Mādhava of Kuppāl.[2] This may be taken to be the earliest variant of the name by which Kopaṇa is known to-day—Kopbal. As Rice pointed out long ago, Kopaṇa is mentioned by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatunga (A.D. 814—A.D. 877) in his *Kavirāja-mārga*, as one of the four cities in which the pith of the Kannaḍa language was spoken.[3] In this connection it is interesting to observe that in one of the stone inscriptions discovered near the grave of Kādalaralinga in the Mauna-kōṭe at Kopbal, in the characters of the same century (the ninth century A.D.), mention is made of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty and of the monarch Nṛpatunga.[4] Another stone

1. We owe this to the labours of Mr. P. B. Desai, *K. H. R.*, II, no. 1, p. 48.
2. *E. C.* IV Sr. 160, p. 143.
3. *Ibid.*, I. Intr. p. 15 ; *Kavirājamārga, Piṭhika*, V, 37 See also Charlu, *Kannada Ins.*, p. 2 ; *E. I.* XII. 148. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya disproved Fleet's contention that Kavīśvara, and not Nṛpatunga, was the author of *Kavirājamārga*. (*I. A.* XXIII 258). Read *Kavicarite* I, pp. 14, 17-20.
4. Desai, *K. H. R.*, II, no. 2, p. 12.

inscription on the rocky side of Candramabandi or Vaṇṭikoḷa in the same place, records the death of Sarvanandi, the disciple of Ekkacaṭṭugada Bhaṭāra in Śaka 803 (A.D. 881).[1] To this period (the ninth century) may be assigned the death of Sukumārasena *muni* on the hill of Kopaṇa (*Kopaṇādri*), mentioned by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in his *Cāmuṇḍarāya Purāṇa*.[2]

When we come to the tenth century A.D., we find Kopaṇapura the seat of a branch of the Śilahāras. It remained so till the thirteenth century A.D. From the inscriptions discovered at Cinnamaḷḷi and Bankūr in the Gulbarga district and in Saloṭgi and Muttagi in the Bijapur district, we learn that the Seḷaṛas or Śilahāras of this branch styled themselves *Kopaṇapuravarādhīśvara* and *Jīmūtavāhanānvaya*.[3]

The eleventh century A.D. saw Kopaṇa becoming still more conspicuous. This was because in addition to its having been a holy place, it was the seat of a great battle. Some pilgrims from Śrī Kopaṇa *tīrtha* visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about A.D.

1. Desai, *K. H. R.* II, p. 13. A Sarbanandi, the disciple of Paraviyaguru of Cikūr, is mentioned in a stone record assigned to about A.D. 750 by Narasimhacarya. *E. C.* II 36, p. 8.

2. This was first pointed out by Rice, *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*, Intr. p. 15, nos. (1) and (2). Then Narasimhacarya referred to it quoting the passage in *Kavicarite*, I. p. 48, n. (1) Mr. N. S. Rajapurohit also has come across this passage, and has added to it notices in *Ajita Purāṇa*. So we are informed about Mr. Rajapurohit by Charlu, *Kannaḍa Ins.*, p. 14. For another inscription assigned to the tenth century A.D. mentioning the *guru* Jaṭāsinganandi and his disciple Cāvayya, see Charlu, *ibid*, p. 8.

3. Only one inscription hailing from Saloṭgi was noticed by earlier scholars, the others were discovered by Mr. Desai. Kielhorn—Sastri, *E. I.* IV, p. 59; Desai, *K. H. R.* II, no. 1, p. 48; Charlu, *ibid.*, p. 2.

1000.[1] It is in connection with the redoubtable Coḷa king Rājādhirāja's and his younger brother Rājendradeva's conflicts with the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhavamalla that we learn about the importance of this place. In one stone inscription it is called "the beautiful great *tīrtha* of Koppam."[2] This name was rightly identified by Rice with Kopaṇa. Here was fought a great battle between the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja Deva and the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhavamalla. The former was an irresistible warrior and had a great many victories to his credit. But he was an enemy of the Jainas, and a ruler of blood-thirsty disposition. The anti-Jaina propensity in king Rājādhirāja is proved beyond doubt by the Aṇṇigere stone inscription of Dharwar which calls him a wicked Coḷa who had abandoned the religious observances of his family, penetrated into the Belgoḷa Country and burnt the Jaina temples erected there by Ganga Permmāḍi (*i.e.*, the Western Cālukyan ruler Vikramāditya VI, who was the younger son of king Someśvara I by a Ganga princess[3]). The blood-thirsty disposition of the Coḷā ruler is attested by the Someśvara temple

1. *E. C.* II, 475, p. 88.

2. *Ibid*, IX. Intr. p. 16. n. (3) And again in *My & Coorg.*, p. 90. Mr. Charlu seems to suggest that Messrs Kielhorn and Sastri were the first to identify this place. *Kannaḍa Ins.*, p. 2. This is wrong. It cannot be made out how Mr. Charlu failed to notice the works of Rice. Koppam was wrongly identified by Hultzsch with Kuppam and Koppa. *South Indian Inscriptions*, I. p. 134 ; II, p. 232. Rice refers to this wrong identification. *E. C. IV*, Intr. p. 15, and n. (1). Mr. Charlu rejects it. *Kannaḍa Ins.*, pp. 3-4.

3. Fleet, *Dyn. Kan. Dts.*, p. 441 ; Rice, *E. C.* IX, Intr. p. 17, *My & Coorg.*, p. 90. Rice is incorrect when he calls Ganga Permmāḍi a Ganga king. See *E. C.* VII. Intr. pp. 19, 166 ; Sk. 83, p. 57 ; Hl. 14, p. 161.

record found in Gangāvara, Dēvanahaḷḷi tāluka, Mysore state, and dated A.D. 1046.[1] In the great battle of Koppam which Rice assigns to A.D. 1052, king Rājādhirāja was killed by the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara Āhavamalla. But the valiant younger brother of that Coḷa ruler by name Rājendradeva retrieved the prestige of the Tamil army, and inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Western Cālukyan king that the latter retreated in order.[2] It is in connection with the great victory won by Rājendradeva that we learn that Koppam was "a beautiful *tīrtha*,"[3]

Its situation is given in another lithic record dated A.D. 1054 which, while repeating the earlier details of Rājendradeva's having terrified Āhavamalla at Koppam, informs us that that place was on the bank of the great river. The "great river" (Pērāru) mentioned here has been identified with Hirehaḷḷa on the right bank of which Kopaṇa is situated.[4]

1. *E. C.* IX. Bn. 108, p. 21 ; *My & Coorg.*, pp. 90-91. According to *E. C.* VII. Sk. 118, text, p. 218, the death of Rājādhirāja is to be placed in Śaka. 976=A.D. 1054.

2. *Ibid*, IX. Bn. 108, op. cit.

3. *Ibid.*, X. Kl. 107, p. 35 ; *ibid*, Intr. p. 15.

4. We owe this accurate detail to Mr. Charlu. *Kannaḍa Ins.*, p. 5. But Mr. Charlu himself says that Kopbal is situated on the *left* bank of the same stream ! *Ibid*, p. 1. If this identification of Pērāru is correct, it will be a unique instance of a mere *haḷḷa*, or stream, called by the name of "great river" ! The difficulty may be solved thus : the greatness of the *tīrtha* has been transferred to the stream itself. Usually the Kṛṣna, called *Kaña-bemṇa* in Khāravela's Hathigumpha Cave inscription (*E.I.* XX, p. 87), *Kara-beṇā* in the Nasik cave inscription, no. 10 (*E. I.* VIII, p. 78), and *Kṛṣṇa-beṇṇā* in a Western Cālukyan inscription of king Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692 (which will be edited soon by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar of Satara), is called Pērddoṛe which name, as Rice has pointed out, has been sometimes

Inscriptions assigned to the same century (the eleventh century A.D.) reveal the names of Jaina *gurus* and their disciples, and show the great popularity of Kopaṇa. For instance, a stone inscription of the first year of king Vikramāditya informs us that Simhanandi Ācārya died by *saṁnyasana.* The lay disciples of the latter (four in all) are named, while Simahanandi Ācārya's disciple Kalyāṇakīrti is extolled as one who had observed the *cāndrāyaṇa,* and through whose administering of the law of Jina (Jina *śāsana*) many effected the *karma kṣaya* (destruction of the evil effect of human action). Kalyāṇakīrti is said to have built the Jinendra *caityālaya* at the spot where his *guru* Simhanandi Ācārya had died, and also consecrated the image of Śāntinātha in the village of Buccukundi.[1] It is conjectured that the king Vikramāditya mentioned here was the Western Cālukyan monarch Vikramāditya V who reigned from A.D. 1009 till A.D. 1017.[2] This is inadmissible. It is more probable that the name refers to king Vikramāditya VI of the same dynasty, whose benevolent work as a Jaina we have already noted in this treatise.

Evidence is not wanting to prove that Kopaṇa continued to be a great Jaina centre in the twelfth century A.D. In about A.D. 1112 Kopaṇa *tīrtha* is said to be "distinguished

given to the Tungabhadrā, and in two instances to Lakṣmaṇatīrtha. *E. C.* X, Intr. p. 18 n. (1). For other notices of the battle of Koppam, read *S. I. I.*, III, no. 55 ; *ibid, VII.* no. 827 *E. I.* XII p. 297 ; *E. C.* IV. Ch. 69, p. 8.

1. Charlu, *Kannaḍa Inscr.*, p. 9. Mr. Desai also notices the same but makes Ravicandra, Guṇacandra ; Abhayacandra, Kavicandra ; and Desaṇacandra,Ajayanandi respectively. *K. H. R.* II. no 2, p. 14.

2. Charlu, *ibid*, p. 9.

among the millions of Jaina sacred places."[1] We have seen in connection with the great Jaina general Ganga Rāja that, as is related in an epigraph dated A.D. 1115, his liberality converted Gangavāḍi 96,000 into Kopaṇa.[2] The same is repeated in another stone inscription dated A.D. 1133.[3] Of his grandson Ēca Daṇḍādhipa it is also said in A.D. 1134 that he made Jaina temples in Belgoḷa like those in the *tīrthas* of Kopaṇa and other places.[4] Another record dated A.D. 1135 of the same general, while repeating the above fact, calls Kopaṇa an original *tīrtha* (*Kopaṇa-ādi-tīrthadalu*).[5] As is related in a record dated A.D. 1159 it was General Huḷḷa that, as we noted in an earlier context, granted gifts to the assembly of twenty-four Jaina sages in the great holy place of Kopaṇa (*Kopaṇa mahā-tīrtha*).[6] Gangavāḍi 96,000 shining like Kopaṇa through the liberality of Ganga Rāja is again mentioned in A.D. 1184.[7] The wealth and sanctity of the place is further attested by a stone inscription found on the pedestal of a Jaina image in the Candranātha *basti* at Kopbal itself which calls it Śrī-Kopaṇa *tīrtha*.[8]

Beḷagavattināḍ is compared to Kopaṇa in about A.D. 1205 because of the charitable work done by Ēcaṇa.[9] The wealthy Kopaṇa had in about A.D. 1206 a Senabova named

1. *E. C.* VII. Sh. 64, p. 25.
2. *Ibid*, II, 127, op. cit.
3. *Ibid*, V. Bl. 124, p. 82.
4. *Ibid*, V. Ch. 248, p. 229.
5. *Ibid*, II. 284, p. 166, text p. 172. Cf. Charlu, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
6. *E. C.* II. 345, p. 148.
7. *Ibid*, IV. Ng. 32, p. 120.
8. *M. A. R.* for 1916, p. 83. See also Charlu, *ibid*, pp. 11-12.
9. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 317, p. 154.

Sāteya who wrote the stone inscription of that date.[1] Stone inscriptions found at Kopbal, and assigned to the thirteenth century A.D., mention the names of Śāntaladevī *basadi*, the Arasiya *basadi*, the Tīrthada *basadi*, and the Timmabbarasiya *basadi* at the same place.[2]

That Kopaṇa did not lose its fame and importance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. is proved by later epigraphs. In about A.D. 1400 Candrakīrtideva, Master of all Arts (*sakala-kalā-pravīṇa*) and the chief disciple of Śubhacandradeva, of the Mūla *sangha* and the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*, caused an image of Candraprabha to be set up "intending it for his own tomb."[3] Under the Vijayanagara Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, Kopaṇa was styled a *sīmā*. It had been assigned by that monarch to the Treasurer Timmappayya for his *nāyakship*. But in this age or before one of the famous Jaina shrines at that place had been turned into a Śaivite temple. This is concluded from the same record dated A.D. 1521 in which the Treasurer Timmappayya is said to have granted the village Hiriyasindogi to the Cenna Keśava god of Kopaṇa.[4] It has been surmised that this temple of Cenna Keśava was originally a Jaina temple from the fact that the temple still contains Jaina sculptures.[5] One of the greatest scholars of the sixteenth century, by name Vādi Vidyānanda, is said to

1. *E. C.* IX, Cg. 45, p. 175.

2. Desai, *K. H. R.* II. no. 2, p. 12. Charlu, *ibid*, p. 14. where Mr. Charlu has based his remarks on the admirable note on Kopaṇa supplied to him by the late Mr. N. B. Shastry of that place.

3. *E. C.* IV. Ch. 151, p. 20.

4. Desai, *ibid*, p. 12 ; Charlu, *ibid*, p. 10.

5. Desai, *ibid*.

have won distinction thus in about A.D. 1530—In Kopaṇa and other *tīrthas* he held great festivals with immense wealth, and by means of the rite of *dehājñā* in order to gain the reward of salvation, became famous.[1] We shall see in a later context that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. Kopaṇa still boasted of traders and merchants. So that our account of Kopaṇa may be brought down to the eighteenth century A.D., we may mention here that, according to a stone inscription of Kopbal assigned to that century, Vardhamānadeva, the disciple of Devendrakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, had the image of Cchāyā Candranātha made and set up there.[2]

There were other prominent Jaina centres as well. Cikka Hanasōge in the Yeḍatore tāluka, which figures conspicuously in records ranging from the ninth century A.D. till the first quarter of the twelfth century,[3] had at one time sixty-four *basadis*. To-day, however, it is filled with ruins amidst which may be seen the beautiful *basti* built in the fine Cālukyan style.[4] In about A.D. 1080 a relative of Dāmanandi Bhaṭṭāraka, the senior *guru* of Divākaranandi Siddhāntadeva of the Pustaka *gaccha,* is said to have been the head of all the *basadis* of the Cangāḷvatīrtha of Panasōge, and of the Abbe *basadi* as well as of the *basadi* of Baḷivane of Torenāḍ.[5] It is interesting to note here that in an inscription assigned to the eleventh century and found in the Tīrthada *basadi* in the

1. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 46, p. 147. See *below* Chapter on Jaina Celebrities in Vijayanagara.

2. Charlu, *Kannaḍa Insc.*, p. 8. For another Kopbal, see *M. A. R. for 1924*, p. 1.

3. *M. A. R. for 1913-4*, p. 26.

4. *Ibid. for 1912-3*, p. 18.

5. *E. C.* IV. Yd. 23, p. 55.

same centre, it is said that that *basadi* had been originally endowed by Rāmaswāmi of the Mūla *sangha*, Deśiya *gaṇa*, and Pustaka *gaccha*, and the son of Daśaratha, and the elder brother of Lakṣmaṇa, and the husband of Sītā and descended in the line of Ikṣvāku. The same *basadi* was afterwards successively endowed by the Śakas, Naḷas, Vikramāditya, the Gangas, and the Cangāḷvas, and then renovated by Samayābharaṇa Bhānukīrti Paṇḍita, the disciple of Nāgacandradeva of the Balātkāra *gaṇa*.[1] We have had an occasion of noting the work of the Cangāḷva king Rājendra Coḷa Nanni Cangāḷvadeva in Hanasōge in an earlier context.[2]

An equally well known place in the ninth and tenth centuries was Pombucca (mod. Humcca), twenty-two miles to the north of Tīrthahaḷḷi in Nagar tāluka. We have already narrated how from the days of the founder of the Śāntara line, Jinadatta Rāya, in the ninth century A.D. and afterwards, Humcca was a Jaina centre. The most ancient temple in that place is called the Pāliyakka *basadi* constructed in about A.D. 878. The large Jaina *maṭha* and the Jaina temples dedicated to Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatī—the latter being the original and presiding deity of the locality—, and the finely executed Pañcakūṭa *basadi* attract even today large numbers of Jaina pilgrims from all parts of India.[3] The Pañcakūṭa *basadi* was no other than the famous Ūrvītilakam which we described while dealing with the charitable endowments of the Śāntara princesses

1. *M. A. R.* for 1912-3, p. 50. Cf. *E. C.* IV. Yd. 25, p. 56. Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, is also mentioned in connection with another Jaina temple described elsewhere in this treatise.
2. *E. C. IV.* Yd. 26, 28, p. 56, op. cit.
3. *M. A. R.* for 1929, pp. 6-7.

Caṭṭaladevī and Pampādevī.[1]

In the course of the description of the benevolent work of General Huḷḷa, it was remarked that one of the centres where he built five great *basadis* was Kellangere. This, we may be permitted to repeat, was an original holy place (*ādi-tīrtha*) formerly founded by the Gangas.[2] Evidence of the centre having been founded by the Gangas, however, is not forthcoming in history. But all the same there cannot be any doubt that the antiquity of Kellangere can be carried to at least two centuries earlier than the age of General Huḷḷa. We prove this by the Lakkaṇṇa Bīraṇṇa stone inscription found at Bastihaḷḷi, Haḷebīḍ, and dated A.D. 952, in which the following is narrated—That in the reign of the Ganga king Bhūtuga (A.D. 938—A.D. 953), Ballappa captured Kellangere with the aid of archers. Moni (Mauni ?) Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Guṇasāgara of the lineage of Koṇḍakunda, was then in Kellangere. When Ballappa besieged that centre, Moni Bhaṭṭāraka, so it is said in the record, "gained the approval and affection of the world," on which Kiriya Moni Bhaṭar, the disciple of Abhayacandra Paṇḍita, erected a monument for him. It cannot be made out whether we are to infer that the (senior) Moni Bhaṭṭāraka valiantly withstood the attack on Kellangere by Ballappa, and that he died in its defence. This doubt arises from two considerations—the fact of the death of Moni Bhaṭṭāraka having been made immediately after the attack on that town by Ballappa; and secondly, from the opening lines of the praise bestowed on the Jaina *guru*, *viz.*, that praise was not to be given to the effeminate but (only) to the beloved, the treasury of virtues—Moni in Kel-

1. *M. A. R.* for 1929, p. 7. See *above* Ch. V.
2. *E. C.* II. 345, op. cit.

langere.[1]

Let us now pass on to the other great centre—Baḷḷigāme. Throughout the eleventh century A.D. Baḷḷigāme figures as a prominent Jaina centre, although during the same age it was the home of all the different religious creeds. And of the various religious organizations that had made Baḷḷigāme their home, no doubt the Kāḷāmukha order deserves the highest praise. It is in connection with one of the greatest figures in Kāḷāmukha history, Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita, that, as we said in the above pages, we come across statements pertaining to Jainas in Baḷḷigāme. In all likelihood the three great Jaina teachers Abhayacandra, Vādībhasimha Vādigharaṭṭa Ajitasena, and Vādiraja—whom Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita defeated in disputation—, excluding others whose identity is still unknown, could only have been worsted by the great Kāḷāmukha teacher either in the court of the Western Cālukyan ruler Jayasimhadeva at Paṭṭalakere or in Baḷḷigāme itself.

We presume that it was in the latter city that the disputation took place on the following grounds—In the first place, Baḷḷigāme by virtue of its having been the centre of the then existing creeds was pre-eminently suited to be the meeting ground of all the religious disputants. But a more valid reason in support of our assumption is that supplied by the stone inscription dated A.D. 1048, that is to say, only twelve years after the above inscription relating to the achievements of Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita. The lithic record found in the Someśvara temple at Shikārpur, opens in the acknowledged Jaina manner. It deals with the work of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa, who was the

1. *E. C.* V. BL. 123, p. 80. See also Rice's note on *pēnigalam*, *ibid*, p. n. (3)

viceroy of Banavasepura under the Western Cālukyan king Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1042—A.D. 1068). While in the royal city of Baḷḷigāme in A.D. 1048, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa granted specified land in the same capital for the worship of a *basadi* of Keśavanandi Aṣṭopavāsi Bhaṭāra. This Jaina *guru* was the disciple of Meghanandi Bhaṭṭāraka of the Baḷagāra *gaṇa* connected with Jajāhuti Śāntinātha. We shall mention later on the place occupied by the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa in the history of Jainism.[1] We may well assume that Baḷḷigāme which possessed a *basadi* in A.D. 1048 may have been a Jaina centre in the days of Vādi Rudraguṇa Lakuḷīśvara Paṇḍita.

Our surmise is further strengthened by the lithic record dated A.D. 1068 which we have already cited above in connection with General Śāntinātha. The work of that Jaina General may be recalled here; and we may observe that in Baligrāma was the ancient Mallikāmoda Śāntitīrtheśa *basadi* which was built of wood and which in that year General Śāntinātha rebuilt in stone. The Jaina *guru* who received a specified grant from the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Lakṣmarasa, the viceroy of the Banavase 12,000 province, was Māghanandi Bhaṭṭāraka who belonged to the Deśiya *gaṇa* and Tālakolānvaya. The concluding lines of the record are all defaced;[2] but they prove all the same that in earlier times Jagadekamalla Deva (evidently Jayasimha III, Jagadekamalla, who ruled from A.D. 1018 till A.D. 1042, and after him the Western Cālukyan king Ganga Permmāḍi Vikramāditya VI, both of whom have figured in this treatise), gave grants to the *basadi* in Baḷḷigāme. The statement that "from of old" some land belonged to Nandana *basadi* (at Baḷḷi-

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 120, p. 91. See also *I. A.* IV, p. 181; Moraes, *op. cit.* pp. 116-117.
2. *E. C.* VII, Sk. 136, pp. 103-104.

gāme) appearing in the same epigraph, is a further proof that that centre belonged to the Jainas in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D.[1]

Baḷḷigāme remained a Jaina stronghold in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. We have to recount here the donations given to the Cālukya-Ganga-Permmāḍi *Jinālaya* in Baḷḷigāme by the king Vikramāditya VI, as recorded in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1077 cited by us already.[2] As regards the importance of the same city in the reign of the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāḷa, we know from a lithic record dated A.D. 1199 that certain officers of the provincial government of Nāgarakhaṇḍa and Jiḍḍuḷige 70, during the *régime* of *'Daṇḍanāyaka* Malliyaṇṇa remitted certain specified dues to Padmanandideva. The object of this endowment was the continuation of the eight-fold worship of the god Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha in the Hiriya (*i.e.*, senior, in other words, ancient) *basadi* of the capital city of Baḷḷigāme.[3] Like many a great Jaina centre Baḷḷigāme today possesses no traces of Jaina worship except broken Jaina images.[4]

Another stronghold of the *anekāntamata* which was as well known as the former was Kuppaṭūr in the Sohrab tāluka. This place figures in inscriptions of the eleventh

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 136, pp. 103-104.
2. *Ibid.*, VII. Sk. 124, *op. cit.*
3. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 46. Dr. Krishna gives the text and translation of this inscription in full, and opines that the record may be assigned to the reign of king Ballāḷa III, and that Padmanandideva mentioned here may be identified with his namesake who died in A.D. 1313. (*M. A. R. for 1929*, pp. 128-130) Another Padmanandideva has figured in a record of A.D. 1077 cited above.
4. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 15.

and thirteenth centuries A.D. It was here that in A.D. 1077 the Kadamba queen Māḷala Devī constructed the Pārśvadeva *caityālaya* which we have described above. To the same Tintriṇīka *gaccha* to which Māḷala Devī's *guru* Padmanandi Siddhāntadeva belonged,[1] was attached Parvata, a Jaina *guru*, who is said to have had something to do with the consecration of the same Jina temple.[2] The same Jaina order held possession of the Kuppaṭūr *basadi* in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Sāvanta Muddayya, who will figure in a later context, is said to have constructed a *basadi* in Kuppaṭūr in about A.D. 1207.[3]

In the Banavasenāḍ were also other great seats of Jainism which have been mentioned in contemporary records. We have, for instance, Uddhare which was one of the ornaments of the Jiḍḍuḷige country. Reference already has been made to the Kanaka *Jinālaya*, Pañca *basadi*, and the splendid Eraga *Jinālaya* in that famous town, as gathered from records dated A.D. 1139 and A.D. 1198 respectively.[4]

Heggare (about seven miles from Huḷiyūr) in the Chitaldroog district was likewise noted for its Jaina structures. The Cenna Pārśva *basadi* of this locality was constructed in A.D. 1160 by Sāmanta Gova, as related in an earlier context.[5] It is a simple but elegant specimen of Hoysala architecture.[6] Here in A.D. 1163 died by the orthodox *saṁnyasana* rites Meghacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Māṇikyanandi

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 262, pp. 41-42, *op. cit.*
2. *M. A. R. for 1911*, pp. 40-41.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 47. See *ibid.*, p. 20 for ruins of Jina images in Kuppaṭūr.
4. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 233, p. 35 ; Sb. 140, p. 200, op. cit.
5. *Ibid.*, XII. Ck. 21, pp. 77-78, op. cit.
6. *M. A. R. for 1918*, p. 19.

Siddhāntadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha.*[1] And when in A.D. 1279 Candrakīrti, who belonged to the same Jaina congregation, but who was the disciple of Maladhāri Bālacandra Rāvuḷa, died by the same method, all the chief Bhavyas of Heggare had a monument made in his name.[2]

Another seat of Jainism was Śringeri. The one prominent *basadi* in this well known seat of Advaitism was the Pārśvanātha *basti.* It cannot be made out when it was constructed. But by the middle of the twelfth century A.D. it had already become popular. For in A.D. 1149 certain donors who belonged to the Krāṇūr *gaṇa,* are mentioned in a damaged record of that date found in the Pārśvanātha *basadi.*[3] The *basadi* built in memory of Māri Śeṭṭi, who was descended from Vijaya Nārāyaṇa Śeṭṭi of Niḍugod, in A.D. 1160, must have been a separate temple. To this *basadi* certain lands and customs dues were granted by the Baṇajamu (*i.e.,* the Vīra Baṇajigas) and the Nānādeśis.[4] Dr. Krishna mentions another inscription which contains only a salutation to Pārśvanātha, and belongs to the same date as that found in the Pārśvanātha *basadi.*[5]

To the same age should be assigned the importance of Kolhāpur as a Jaina centre. The credit of turning it into a *tīrtha* for the Jainas is to be given to the great philosopher Māghanandimuni, the disciple of Kulacandradeva. This we infer from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1163 of the

1. *E. C.* XII. Ck. 23, p. 78.
2. *Ibid.,* Ck. 24, p. 79.
3. *M. A. R. for 1934,* pp. 113-114.
4. *Ibid.,* for 1933, p. 123. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya opined that this was the earliest record found in Śringeri. *M.A.R. for 1916,* pp. 17, 83. But in view of the inscription dated A.D. 1149 cited above, that opinion is untenable.
5. *M. A. R. for 1933,* p. 125.

time of Māghanandi himself. The same source speaks of Pratāpapura of Kellangere which belonged to the Rūpanārayaṇa *basadi* of Kollāpura of the Pustaka *gaccha*, the Deśiya *gaṇa*, and the Mūla *sangha*.[1] A later record dated about A.D. 1200 informs us that Māghanandi Siddhāntadeva was connected with the Sāvanta *basadi* of Kollāpura. This *basadi* belonged to the same Jaina congregation as the previous one.[2]

Neither Kolhāpur nor Śringeri was so conspicuous as Bandaṇike, one of the most well known centres of Jainism. Today Bandaṇike (mod. Bandalike) is a village overgrown with teak trees, with a number of mutilated Jaina figures lying all about. But Bandaṇike, called in later records Bāndhavanagara and Bāndhavapura, was a seat of the Bhavyas so early as A.D. 902, when it was called a *tīrtha*. In this year Biṭṭayya, the Pērggaḍe of the Nāḍu in the province governed by Lōkateyarasa, caused to be built in that holy place a *basadi* for which the viceroy and others granted specific villages as a gift. The interest of this stone inscription lies also in the fact that both Biṭṭayya and his wife, who was the *gāmuṇḍi* of Bhārangiyūr, renounced the world, evidently after the construction of the *basadi*. These events took place in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II, Akālavarṣa.[3]

Bandaṇike sprang into fame under the scions of the Kādamba family. It was the capital of Boppa (or Brahma) Dēva. The god Śāntinātha of this city is praised thus in

1. *E. C.* II. 64, op. cit.
2. *Ibid.*, II. 386, p. 164. See also *ibid.*, Intr. pp. 61, 74, 85.
3. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 38. Dr. Krishna speaks of a record dated A.D. 918 found in the same place Bandaṇike (*M. A. R.* for 1931, p. 66) which I am unable to trace.

a record assigned to A.D. 1182 :—" With however much milk he is bathed, it disappears ; though garlanded with flowers down to his feet, they vanish ; though bathed with hot water, he on the contrary becomes cold—is this not sufficient to describe the greatness of Śāntinātha ? " The Ācārya of this temple of Śāntinātha was Bhānukīrti Siddhānta of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa,* Tintriṇīka *gaccha,* and Nunna-*vaṁśa.* He was the disciple of the learned Municandra, who had published commentaries, made the science of grammar his own, adopted the rules of logic, explained poems and dramas, and despised the god of love. It was to this same Bhānukīrti that, as we related above, the General Rēca had granted a specified village as a gift. The *basadi* of Ratnatraya of Māguṇḍi, of which Bhānukīrti was the priest, we may note, was the creation of Śankara Sāmanta, the first person in the kingdom of the ruler Boppa Deva. The temple thus built was so beautiful that it was praised by Sūryābharaṇa, the Tripurāntaka Sūri of Balipura. And to both the Bhavyas and the devout followers of Śiva it was a source of joy ! It was to see this lovely *Jinālaya* that Rēca Daṇḍādhīśa had come all the way from his own city, as we narrated in an earlier connection.[1]

Bandaṇike is called a *tīrtha* in A.D. 1075 when the Western Cālukyan monarch Someśvara had made specified gifts to the Śāntinātha *basadi.*[2] The same epithet is given to it in A.D. 1204 when Kavaḍe Boppa was its ruler. This officer is called " half a Rēca in promoting the Jina *dharma* in the world." He belonged to the trading class, as his name Kavaḍya Boppa Seṭṭi implies. He erected a *maṇṭapa* for the god Śāntinātha. But he was not the only person who

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 197, p. 126, op. cit.
2. *Ibid.,* Sk. 225, pp. 132-133.

was responsible for the prosperity of Bandaṇike as a centre of Jainism. Śubhacandra Paṇḍita, the disciple of Lalitakīrti Siddhānta, "raised up the *tīrtha* of Bandaṇike as its favourite *ācārya*", and he obtained the *pārupatya* (or management) of the Śāntinātha *tīrtha.* And the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Deva's celebrated (Brahman?) minister Malla "protected this Bandaṇike with affection." The remarkable spirit of goodwill which prevailed in the land in those days is seen in the manner in which provision was made for the worship and ceremonies of the god Śāntinātha of Bandaṇike to be described later on.[1]

The Śāntinātha *basadi* of Bāndhavanagara figures also in A.D. 1207, when king Brahma of the Kādamba family ruled over it. The Jaina priest in charge of the *basadi* in that year was Anantakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa* and the Tintriṇīka *gaccha.* Mudda Sāvanta, also called Sāvanta Muddayya, was his disciple. He was an ornament to the kingdom of Ballāḷa Deva, a pious and liberal Jaina, and a worthy successor of Rēca Camūpati. He erected a *basadi* at Māguṇḍi and granted lands to it. We have already seen how the same Sāvanta built a *basadi* at Kuppaṭūr.[2] Five years later in A.D. 1213 Śubhacandradeva, the disciple of Lalitakīrtimuni, died by the orthodox manner in the same holy place.[3]

The Jainas could also boast of another great stronghold of theirs in the famous capital of the Hoysala rulers—Dorasamudra itself. This city comes into prominence as a Jaina centre from the time of the ruler Ballāḷa II. To the reign of this monarch we have to assign a stone record found in the

1. *M. A. R. for 1911*, pp. 46-47.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 226, p. 133.

same capital, in which the death by *sallekhanā* of the Jaina merchant Nāmi Śeṭṭi is registered. The main ground on which this inscription is placed in the early years of the king Ballāḷa II is the fact that Nāmi Śeṭṭi is mentioned as the disciple of the Jaina *guru* Nayakīrti. Dr. Krishna rightly identifies Nayakīrti with his namesake spoken of in a Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record.[1] But we have to fix the date of Nayakīrti in order to prove the validity of our assertion that Nāmi Śeṭṭi died in the reign of king Ballāḷa II.

This can be done by ascertaining a few facts concerning Nayakīrtideva. From the epigraphic evidence cited in connection with the great Jaina generals in the previous pages, it may be recalled here that Nayakīrti figures in many of the Hoysala records. This *guru* was the disciple of Guṇacandra and the colleague of Mānikyanandi. Both these pupils of Guṇacandra were great philosophers. Nayakīrti was "an emperor of philosophy", while Māṇikyanandi was one who "had reached the other shore of the ocean of philosophy". Nayakīrti was "superior to the lord of Khacchara (Jimūtavāhana) and Bali in liberality, was superior to Meru and the famous Kailāsa in weight (dignity), was the *guru* of the praiseworthy Irungoḷa, and a true *guru* of the whole world." He belonged to the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha*. He is highly praised as one who was proficient in literature, the Jaina scriptures, and as "a crest jewel of good conduct." For he was one who "destroyed the three *śalyas*,[2] the three *gāravas*,[3] and the three *daṇḍas*.[4] The same

1. *M. A. R. for 1929*, pp. 78-79.

2-4. The three *Śalyas* are the following—*mithyā-śalya* (falsehood), *māyā-śalya* (fraud), and *nindāna-śalya* (covetousness). The three *gāravas* are the following :—*pañca-sunā* (cutting, grinding, cooking, carrying of water, sweeping); *strī-mohādi* (love of woman, etc.) ; and *parigraha* (land, house, cattle, grain, bipeds,

epigraph tells us that he died in Śaka 1099 (A.D. 1176-1177). On the strength of these facts, we may assign the event mentioned concerning Nāmi Śeṭṭi to a period before A.D. 1177 in the reign of king Ballāḷa II or earlier.

That quarter of Dorasamudra which contained Jaina temples was called Bastihaḷḷi. The *basadis* which lie in ruins in this village, as well as the inscriptions in its neighbourhood, enable us to conclude that Bastihaḷḷi was, indeed, a prosperous centre of Jainism under the Hoysalas. In A.D. 1236 the *guru* Sakalacandramuni, a disciple of Bāhubali Siddhānta of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Mūla *sangha*, after wandering through villages, cities, and hamlets, and causing Jainism to spread, at last died in the *caityagṛha* of the village of Biḷicā (in modern Basavapaṭṭaṇa of the Channagiri tāluka?) after starving himself for three days. At this all the Jaina citizens (*Bhavya-nagarangaḷ*) of the capital Dorasamudra erected a monument in his memory.[1] From the statement made above concerning this *guru*, it is not improbable that he had popularized Jainism in the country.

Of the three temples now existing in Bastihaḷḷi—the Pārśvanātha, Ādinātha, and Śāntinātha—we have a few details

quadrupeds, conveyance, bed, servants, vessels). The three *daṇḍas* which are hurtful are—acts of body, speech, and mind. *E.C.*, II, p. 22, ns. 1-3.

1. *E. C.* II, 66, pp. 22-23. On the basis of this the date given to inscription number 182 (*circa* A.D. 1200), p. 90 (*ibid*) should be changed to an earlier date. See also 187, 333, pp. 91, 140. In the latter record we are introduced to the solitary figure of Someśvara described as a son of Vīra Ballāḷa—a statement which is not met with elsewhere. Nayakīrti's charter to the Jain merchants of Belgoḷa is also to be noted in this record.

about the last one.[1] An inscription on the pedestal of the image in the Śāntinātha temple relates that in A.D. 1257 Vijayaṇṇa (descent stated) of Kothanāḍu and the Jaina merchants of Dorasamudra erected the temple of Śāntinātha. It was attached to the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Pustaka *gaccha.* The donors obtained the village of Hīraguppe (location specified) from the king Narasiṁha Deva III in A.D. 1257, and gave it over to Nayakīrti Siddhānta and his descendants.[2]

The Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra witnessed a remarkable spectacle in A.D. 1274. Bālacandra Paṇḍitadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi* and the *Śrī-samudāya,* was a learned and austere *guru.* He had become famous in the world for his teachings on penance. When he made comments on the *Sāracatuṣṭa* and other works, his *dīkṣā guru* Nemicandra Bhaṭṭāraka listened. Once Bālacandra announced to the four castes thus—" At noon (on the date specified) I shall enter the tomb ", and he commanded them thus—" You should all obtain *dharma* ; you must forgive me ! " Having performed all the rites of *saṁnyasana,* seated on *palyankāsana* (or couch), praising the forms of the *pañcaparameṣṭis,* in a manner that gained the approval of his own and other sects, he suffered perfect entombment. At which all the Bhavyas of Dorasamudra performing all the ceremonies suitable for the occasion, as a memorial for his departure, made images of that *guru* and of the *pañcaparameṣṭis,* and setting them up, extended his merit.[3]

Five years later (A.D. 1279) another great Jaina *guru* died

1. For a detailed account read *M. A. R. for 1930,* pp. 52, 55, 59.

2. *Ibid., for 1911,* p. 49.

3. *E. C.,* V. Bl. 131, p. 87.

amidst equally orthodox circumstances. This was Abhayacandra Siddhāntadeva who, both according to the above records and the one under review, was the *Śruta guru* of Bālacandra Paṇḍitadeva. It is said of Abhayacandra that with the *pramāṇa-dvayī* he expounded prosody, logic, vocabulary, grammar, philosophy, and rhetoric. He was a great disputant. On the night of the date specified (A.D. 1279) knowing it was his time for the tomb, forsaking all food, purifying his body, without fear, so that all the world applauded, taking to the *palyankāsana,* as if saying, "I will certainly show my brightness in heaven", Abhayacandra, the great Siddhāntika, died. And once again all the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra raised a high monument for him in reverence.[1]

And twenty years after his death, the pious Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra once again lost an equally remarkable Jaina teacher. He was Rāmacandra Maladhārideva, the senior disciple of Bālacandra Paṇḍitadeva. The epigraph gives a unique account of this austere *guru.* "In walking he did not swing his arms ; he did not go the length of a yoke without looking well before him ; women and gold he never touched ; rough words he never spoke ; night and day he never forgot himself and uttered boastful words ; (and he) never fell into the net of ignorance". Rāmacandra Maladhārideva discoursed to his beloved pupil Śubhacandradeva on the *śreyomārga.* Like his great *guru* Bālacandra, Rāmacandra informed the four castes of the exact time of his death ; and commanding them to cultivate *dharma,* and having performed all the rites of *saṁnyasana* from his *palyankāsana,* he died in A.D. 1300. And once again the Jaina citizens of Dorasamudra had images of their leader made together with

1. *E. C.* V 133, p. 88.

those of the *pañcaparameṣṭis*, and they undertook to spread his merit and fame.[1]

The thirteenth century saw other prosperous Jaina centres. For instance, there was Arasiyakere. This city was one of the most famous spots in Karnāṭaka. Here was the Sahasrakūṭa *Jinālaya* about which we have already mentioned a few details while dealing with General Rēca. The above inscription dated A.D. 1220 which commemorates the setting up of the Sahashrakūṭa Jina image by General Rēca, gives us an admirable account of the citizens of that *rājadhāni*. Here lived both Brahmans and Jainas in the utmost freedom and goodwill. "To those who properly observe, in the celebrated Arasiyakere the Brahmans were versed in the Vedas; the guards, brave; the traders, wealthy; the fourth caste, of unshaken speech; the women, beautiful; the labourers, submissive; the woods, full of fruits; the gardens, full of flowers." With lotuses covered with bees, with groves filled with parrots and cuckoos, with tanks overflowing, pervaded with the perfume of *gandhaśāli* rice, filled with flower, sugarcane and wells, having lofty and handsome temples, crowded with an increasing population, and ornament to the earth—who can describe Arasiyakere? The Jaina *dharma* and all other *dharmas* are cultivated without opposition by the thousand families of the good in Arasiyakere. The Bhavyas who aided those thousand families are described thus—Their speech, a home of truth; their conduct, according to Jina *dharma;* in worship of the two feet of Jina, fourfold of Indra; their (material) greatness, equal to that of Kubera; their gifts bestowed upon only the worthy; in acquiring wealth, giving pleasure to all; on whatever side observed this was

1. *E. C.*, V. Bl 134, p. 89.

the case—who then can compare with the Bhavyas of Arasiyakere?[1]

Such were the Jains of Karnāṭaka who made our land rich and prosperous in the mediæval times.

1. *E. C.*, V, Bl. *77, op. cit.* See also *M. A. R. for 1918*, p. 28, for a short note on the Sahasrakūṭa temple.

CHAPTER VII.

CRITICAL TIMES

Importance of the 8th and 9th centuries in Jaina history—The identity of the Ājīvikas with the Jainas disproved—Stages in the spread of Jainism—I. The age of Samantabhadra—II. Akalanka—III. Vajranandi—The establishment of the Drāviḍa Sangha—Other *gurus* who spread Jainism—Kanakanadi & Guṇasena—Eḷācārya—Jaina centres in the Tamil land and Travancore, the Āndhradeśa and Karnāṭaka from the early times till the rise of Vijayanagara—Contribution of Jainism to the history and culture of the Tamil land, the Āndhradeśa and Karnāṭaka—Literature—Grammar — Mathematics — Astrology — Medicine—Arts and Architecture— Contribution to the culture of India—the four gifts—*Ahimsā*—toleration—General causes of the decline of Jainism in the Tamil and Telugu lands and Karnāṭaka—The work of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints in the Tamil land.

THE eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era were ages of Jaina diffusion in the south. But this expansion brought it into conflict with certain forces which proved detrimental to its life not only in the new kingdoms over which it spread, but also in the land of its domicile where undoubtedly it had moulded the destinies of the people for centuries. In the previous pages we saw the history of

some of the major centres of Jainism. Here we shall be concerned with the account of some of the minor seats of that religion which will enable us to understand the story of its struggle in the south, and to appreciate the stand it took in the age when the great mediæval Empire of Vijayanagara was founded.

There is every reason to believe that the *anekāntaṁata* radiated to the southern centres from its strongholds in Karnāṭaka. But it must be admitted at the same time that considerable uncertainty prevails in regard to the question of the exact age when Jainism was introduced in the Tamil land, and the names of the great teachers who were instrumental in propagating the tenets of the Jina *dharma*.[1] We meet with many references to Jainism and to a sect which has been identified with a sect of that religion, in certain works ascribed to the early period of Tamil literature. Mr. Ramaswami Ayyangar pointed out long ago detailed references to Jainism in the famous Tamil works which belong to the so-called Śangham age, *viz.*, *Toḷkāp-*

1. Devacandra's statement that Vísākhamuni, the immediate disciple of Bhadrabāhu (who is supposed to have died in B.C. 297), travelled in the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya lands and spread the Jina *dharma*, as given in his *Rājāvaḷikathe*, is rightly doubted by Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar (*Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 20, 32), because Devacandra's testimony is not supported by any other source. But Mr. Ramaswami assumes that the lithic record in the Brahmi script, found in the Ramnad and Madura districts, and assigned by the Madras Government Epigraphist to the beginning of the third century B.C. (*Ep. Report of the Southern Circle for 1907*, pp. 60-61), probably were Jaina inscriptions; and that the Jaina Sages may have commenced their preaching of the Jina doctrine in the Tamil land in that remote age. *Studies*, pp. 33-35.

piyam, Kural, Maṇimekhalai, and *Śilappadikāram.*[1] It is interesting to note that, according to some scholars, the author of *Tolkāppiyam* was himself a Jaina ;[2] that Vaḷḷuvar, the author of *Kural,* was likewise a follower of Arhat, ;[3] and that Iḷangōvaḍigal, the author of *Maṇimekhalai,* and the author of *Nāḷadiyar* were both Jainas.[4] The *Kural,* we may note by the way, contains undoubted references to Jainism.[5]

A prominent sect met with in early Tamil literature has been identified with one of the Jaina sects. Thus, for instance, in the work called *Maṇimekhalai* we have the teachings of the Ājīvikas in detail.[6] These Ājīvikas or naked ascetics are supposed by some to be no other than one sect

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1. Ramaswami Ayyangar, *Studies.,* pp. 36-50. Other scholars of late including S. K. Ayyangar and C. S. Srinivasachari, have noted a few references to the same after him. See for the remarks of these two scholars. *Jainācārya Śrī Ātmānanda Centenary Commemoration volume,* (Bombay, 1936).

2. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *Seṇ Tamil,* XVIII for 1919-1920, p. 339.

3. Seshagiri Shastry, *Essay on Tamil Literature,* p. 43; Ramaswami, *ibid,* p. 41.

4. Ramaswami, *ibid,* pp. 46, 56.

5. Ramaswami, *ibid,* pp. 41-42. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar has unsuccessfully tried to show that the epithets *malarmiśai, yekkinān, aindavittān,* and *arāvāliyantaṇam*—which Ramaswami, following Seshagiri Shastry, showed to be Jaina epithets (*Studies,* p. 41)—were Vedic ideas. *Studies in Tamil Literature,* pp. 136-37. Prof. A. N. Upadhye merely follows Ramaswami Ayyangar where he maintains that the *Kural* contains many Jaina indications, and that the commentator of Nilakeśi calls the *Kural* "our own Bible" (*emmothu*). Upadhye, *Pravacanasāra,* Intr. pp. xx, seq. See Ramaswami, *Studies.,* pp. 41-43.

6. S. K. Ayyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting,* Bk. xxvii pp. 193-4. See also *ibid,* Intr. p. xxii, and pp. 55, 55n(i), 56, 57. Cf. *Śilappadikāram,* Canto XXVII, ll. 99-100.

of Jainas identical with the Kṣapaṇakas Yāpaṇīyas, Nagna (or naked), and Bhagna (wounded) beggars mentioned in literature and epigraphic records.[1]

But the Ājīvikas were not Jainas; and it is doubtful whether they can be identified with the Yāpaṇīyas mentioned in Jaina literature and in stone inscriptions. In the first place, we may note that the Ājīvikas are mentioned as distinct from the Jainas in Buddhist literature.[2] Secondly, in

1. Rice, *E. C. X.* Kl. 28, p. 7. The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gośala, a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Gautama. Charpentier is of opinion that the Ājīvikas were older than Gośala himself. *J. R. A. S.* for 1913, pp. 669-674. But there is nothing new in this opinion, for Monier Williams expressed it long ago. *J. R. A. S.* XX, p. 277. (O.S.). Ramaswami makes Gośala a quondam disciple of Mahāvīra, *Studies*; p. 7. The Ājīvikas mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka, have been variously identified with Buddhist Bhikṣus, Jaina mendicants, and even with Vaiṣṇavites! Read Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corpus Insc. Indicarum*, Vol. I.), pp. 136, and *ibid*, n(3), 181. They figure in Buddhist literature. Cowell, *The Jataka;* I, pp. 124; 206, 229, 307; II. pp. 181, 187; III. p. 159; V. p. 8, 42, 45; VI. pp. 115, 119, 121; Geiger, *Mahāvamso*, p. 75, and *ibid*, n (2); Neumann, *Dīgha Nikāya*, pp. 2,248, and *ibid*, n(139); A. Banerjee Sastri, *J. Bihar Or. R.S.* XII, p. 532-562. For a full note on the Ājīvikas read Hoernle's admirable account in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I., pp. 259-268. Read also Benimadhab Barua, *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, Ch. XXI, pp. 297-318 (Calcutta, 1921) [I owe this reference to Dr. Barua's work to Dr. S. M. Katre]. Amulya Candra Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina literature* (Viśvabhārati Studies. No.3). On their identification with the Vaiṣṇavas, read Bühler, *I. A.* XX, pp. 316 seq. This is rejected by D. R. Bhandarkar, *J. Bom. R. A. S.*, XXI, pp. 399 seq; *I. A.* XLI, pp. 88, 286 seq.

2. Read *Majjhima Nikāya*. I. pp. 238, 524; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I pp. 71, 219-220, 227, 232 (S.B.E.II) I owe these references to my wife.

the account of the Jaina scholars as given in the *Sthānānga*, *Ūttarādhyāyana*, and other Jaina *Sūtras*, no mention is made of Markali Gośala at all. On the other hand, we have the names of seven leaders of the Jaina schism during and after the time of the great Mahāvīra. The *Sthānāngasūtra*, for instance, speaks of Jamali who preached the doctrine of work in unlimited time ; Tiṣygupta, the doctrine of the soul's extension ; Āṣāḍhācārya, the doctrine of Avyaka ; Āśāmitra, the doctrine of momentary existence ; Ganga, the doctrine of double sensation ; Aulukya *alias* Rohagupta (who was called Kanāḍa in Brahmanic literature) the doctrine of three or six categories ; Goṣṭa Mahila, the doctrine of no bondage.[1]

Further, the so-called naked ascetics seem to have seceded from the Brahmanical faith. For in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* it is said that those who seceded from their original belief are said to be naked, because they have thrown off the garment of the *Vedas*.[2] This seems to point to a Hindu origin of the Ājīvikas.

But the reason why they have been confounded with the Jainas is that like the Digambaras they went about naked. Thus in the immortal hymns called the *Tēvāram* of the great Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandhar and Appar, the Jainas are described as naked ascetics who pulled out their hair from their heads and stood unabashed before women.[3] Among Hindu writers the naked ascetics are said to have been known by the name Siddhas, a term which is not uncommon among the Jainas too. The naked wandering ascetics

1. The *Sthānānga Sūtra*, pp. 468-469 quoted by Dr. Shama Sastry in *M. A. R. for 1927*, p. 23. These *sūtras* are assigned by Dr. Sastry to the sixth century A.D. *Ibid*, p. 22.

2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 341.

3. Ramaswami, *Studies*; p. 69 where in n. (7) reference to the original is given.

whom the queen Vilāsavatī, desirous of getting a child with a mind prostrate in adoration prays and whom Bāṇa calls by the name Siddha, were no doubt Ājīvikas.[1] A certain amount of reproach was attached to them. This will be evident from Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* in which it is said that a person who entertains in a dinner dedicated to the gods or ancestors, Buddhists, Ājīvikas, Śūdras, and exiled persons (*pravrajita*), will be fined 100 *paṇa*.[2]

From the Tamil classic *Maṇimekhalai* it is clear that the Ājīvikas were not the same as the Jainas. For Maṇimekhalai after listening to the essence of the teaching of Markali and finding it self-contradictory, passed on to the teaching of the Nirgrantha,[3] thereby showing that the teaching of the latter was quite distinct from that of the former.

Moreover, in a record dated A.D. 1162 the naked (*nagna*) ascetics are spoken of as distinct from the *bhagna* (wounded) ascetics and the Kṣapaṇakas, Ekadaṇḍis, and others, proving that the people did not associate the Ājīvikas or naked ascetics with the Jainas at all.[4]

And, finally, the State in southern and western India differentiated between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas. In the Tamil stone inscriptions discovered in Karnāṭaka the Ājīvikas were taxed per capita, while the Jainas like other citizens were taxed per house. In the Tamil records the Ājīvikas are styled Āśuvimakkaḷ. In an inscription dated A.D. 1072 of the 3rd regnal year of the king Rājendra Coḷa, the inhabitants of the Eighteen *viṣaya*, the Vaḷangai sec-

1. *Kadambari*, p. 56 (Ridding). Even modern scholars have confounded the Digambaras with the Ājīvikas. Takakusu commits such an error. *I-Tsing's Travels.*, p. 2.
2. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 224.
3. S. K. Ayyangar, *Maṇimekhalai*, p. 194.
4. *E. C.* VII, SK. 102, p. 73.

tions, and the Padangoṇḍu, enacted certain measures among which was one which declared that the Āśuvimakkaḷ should pay one *kāśu* each for the minor tolls; and that if they failed to do so, they should pay an additional *kāśu*.[1] In about A.D. 1291 in the 37th year of another Tamil monarch Jayangoṇḍa Coḷa, a tax on Ājīvikas is mentioned.[2] A nobleman called Śikka Dēvaṇṇa Daṇṇāyaka Aṇṇāmalai Devar is said to have remitted, among other taxes, the tax on the Ājīvikas, for the worship of a certain god in order to invoke success for the arms of the king Rāmanātha Devar.[3] We may contrast these instances with those mentioned in the famous record dated A.D. 1368 which will be examined in minute detail in a later context, in which the following is stated :—That out of the money levied at the rate of one *haṇa* a year for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom, a certain amount was to be set apart for the bodyguard of the holy place of Belgoḷa.[4] These facts are enough to demonstrate that the people as well as the State in mediæval India distinguished the Ājīvikas from the Jainas.

As regards the identification of the Ājīvikas and the Yāpaṇīyas, it may be observed that this, too, is untenable. The Yāpiṇīyas were an unorthodox Jaina sect with the appearance of the Digambaras but with the observances of the Śvetāmbaras.[5] In the epigraphic notices we have of this sect,

1. *E. C.* X. Mg. 49 (a), p. 87.
2. *Ibid*, Kl. 28, p. 7.
3. *Ibid*, Kl. 18, p. 4.
4. *Ibid*, II, 344, p. 146.
5. Read Lüders' detailed note on them in *E. I.* IV, pp. 338-339, where reference is given to *Bhadrabāhu carita*, IV. v. 133, seq., which describes the origin of their *sangha* as well. See also *Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII, p. 39 seq.

especially in Karnāṭaka, the Yāpaṇīyas are never confounded with the Ājīvikas at all. How the Yāpiṇīyas have figured in Palāśika in the days of the Kādamba king Mṛgeśavarmā (fifth century A.D.) and Devavarmā has already been noticed in connection with the patronage extended to Jainism by the Kādamba monarchs.[1] We have likewise seen that Śālagrāma to the west of Mānyapura was a centre of the Yāpaṇīya Nandi *sangha,* which belonged to the Punnāgavṛkṣamūla, in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda Prabhūtavarṣa.[2] And, further, the Ekkasambuge stronghold of the same sect in the reign of the Śilahāra king Vijayāditya in A.D. 1165 has also been dwelt upon.[3]

This digression is necessary if we are to invalidate the alleged identity between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas on the one hand, and the Ājīvikas and the Yāpaṇīyas on the other.[4] The spread of Jainism in the Tamil land, therefore, is not to be traced to the advent of the Ājīvikas in the south, but to the activities of the celebrated Jaina teachers whose great

1. For further notices, See *Bombay Gaz.*, II, Pt. II, 288; *I. A. VII* 38 ; *J. Bom. R. A. S.* XII, p. 332.

2. *E. C.* XII. Gb. 1, op. cit.

3. *M. A. R. for 1916*, pp. 48-49.

4. As regards the identification of the Ājīvikas with the Kṣapaṇakas, it may be noted that Kṣapaṇaka is said, according to tradition, to have been one of the nine jewels in the court of king Vikramāditya. (Satiscandra Vidyābhuṣana referred to by Hiralal, *Cat. of MSS in the C. P.* etc., p. xiii.) Since the identity of king Vikramāditya himself is a matter of uncertainty, nothing can be said about Kṣapaṇaka and the creed he promulgated. In a *kaḍita* found in the Śringeri *maṭha,* Bhāratītīrtha Śrīpāda of Śringeri is said to have defeated the Kṣapaṇakas whom Dr. Krishna identifies with the Jainas. *M. A. R. for 1933*, p. 219.

achievements in the field of religion and philosophy brought the Tamil land into close touch with Karnāṭaka.[1] Prominent among the Jaina *gurus* who were responsible for the diffusion of Jainism in the Tamil country were Samantabhadra, Akalanka, Kanaksena, and Guṇanandi.

Samantabhadra is a celebrated name in Jainism. Devacandra in his *Rājāvaḷīkathe* (A.D. 1838) tells us that Samantabhadra performed penance in the village of Maṇuvaka.[2] This statement of a later writer is insufficient to assert that Samantabhadra was a Kannaḍiga. No original Kannaḍa work of this great Jaina teacher is available; but his commentaries in Kannaḍa to Sanskrit and Prakrit works have been discovered.[3]

The date of this renowned teacher is still unsettled. He may have lived in the earlier part of the second century A.D. This supposition is based on the following considerations. In the first place, it may be observed that in Jaina literary accounts, there is no unanimity at all concerning Samantabhadra's date. In the *Vīravaṃśāvaḷī* of the Śvetāmbaras, Samantabhadra is said to have been the sixteenth Pontiff (from ?), who lived in 889 after *Nīrvāṇa* which corresponds, according to Hiralal, to A.D. 419 as the date of that Jaina *guru*.[4] But, according to another Jaina tradition,

1. Ramaswami assumes on the strength of the statements made in the *Mahāvamso* (pp. 49, seq), that Jainism—which, according to him must have been introduced in Ceylon in the fifth century B.C.,—must have left its trace also in the extreme south of India at the same time. *Studies*; p. 33. These assumptions do not rest on sure grounds.

2. *Kavicarite*, I, pp. 2, 4.

3. *Ibid*, I. p. 4.

4. Hiralal, *Cat. of MSS.*, Intr. p. xi.

Samantabhadra lived in Śaka 60 (A.D. 138).[1]

Credence may be given to the tradition that Samantabhadra lived in the second century A.D., when we examine the pontifical pedigrees of the Jaina *gurus* as given in the epigraphs ranging from the beginning of the twelfth to the fifteenth century A.D. Thus in a record dated A.D. 1129 we have three names in succession without their relationship being explained : Bhadrabāhu, Koṇḍakunda, and next to him Samantabhadra, thus showing that in regard to spiritual greatness these three names come one after the other.[2] In another record dated A.D. 1163 it is said that in the line of Bhadrabāhu arose Koṇḍakunda, who was also called Padmanandi, Umāsvāti, and Gṛdhrapiñcchācārya. His disciple was Balākapiñccha. " In such a line of great *ācāryas* arose (with praise) Samantabhadra " after whom came Pūjyapāda.[3] The same is repeated in a later record of A.D. 1398 in which we are told that Koṇḍakunda wrote the *Tattvārthasūtra,* and that Samantabhadra's disciple Śivakoṭisūri " ornamented the *Tattvārthasūtra* ", evidently meaning thereby that he wrote a commentary on that work.[4] Then, again.

1. Bhandarkar, *Report on Skt. MSS. for* 1883-1884 p. 320. Rice also placed Samantabhadra in the second century A.D. *My & Coorg,* p. 203. But Narasimhacarya maintained that Samantabhadra may have lived in *circa.* 400. (*Kavicarite,* I, p. 4).

2. *E. C.* II. 67, p. 25.

3. *Ibid,* 64, p. 17.

4. *Ibid,* 254, p. 110. If we are to rely upon this inscription, —and there is no reason why we should doubt its authenticity— then, Śivakoṭi was the earliest Jaina scholar to write a commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra.* Hence Prof. Upadhye's remark that Pujyapāda—who, as pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, came sometime after Samantabhadra,—was the earliest Digambara commentator on *Tattvārthasūtra* (*Pravacanasāra.* Intr. p. xxi) has to be modified.

in an inscription of A.D. 1432 we have the fact of Samantabhadra's being mentioned immediately after Balākapiñccha.[1]

Although the above records unmistakably point out to the proximity in time of Samantabhadra to Balākapiñccha, who was the disciple of Koṇḍakunda, yet they do not assert that Samantabhadra was the immediate disciple of Balākapiñccha. This is not surprising when we know that Balākapiñccha had a famous disciple called Guṇanandi, as is proved by epigraphs dated A.D. 1115 and A.D. 1176.[2] Nevertheless it may not be too much to assume that Samantabhadra was near enough in time to that Jaina teacher. This explains why he is placed immediately after Balākapiñccha in the records cited above.

But the difficulty concerning Samantabhadra's date is not thereby solved. For the date of neither Koṇḍakunda nor Balākapiñccha is known. Professor Upadhye after a careful discussion of all available evidence places Koṇḍakunda at the beginning of the Christian era.[3] On the basis of this

1. *E. C.* II. 258, p. 117. But in this inscription Umāsvātimuni is said to be born in the line of Koṇḍakunda, which, as pointed out by Narasimhacarya, is not borne out by other records. *Ibid*, p. 117, n(1).

2. *E. C.* II. 66, 127, pp. 51-52.

3. The same conclusion was arrived at by Ramaswami. *Studies*, p. 43. Professor Upadhye relates that a Jaina Kannaḍa magazine called *Vivekābhūdaya*, I. pp. 3-4, has discovered the village where Koṇḍakunda lived. It is identified with Koṇḍakund about four or five miles from the Guntakal railway station. *Pravacanasāra*, p. xxiii, n(2). But this discovery is not new. It was made long ago in the ***Epigraphical Report of the Southern Circle for 1916***, p. 134, where it was said that Koṇḍakunda's village was called Konakonala, Konakuṇṭla, or Konkakunda. This suggests that we have to look for the domicile of the great Jaina teacher in an essentially Karnāṭaka locality, and not in

date it may be argued that Koṇḍakunda's immediate disciple Balākapiñccha may be placed in the middle of the same century. Admitting that one or two names intervened between Balākapiñccha and Samantabhadra, it is not

Kañci, as suggested by Prof. Upadhye. (*Op. cit.*, p. xxiii). Among the arguments advanced by this learned writer in order to arrive at the conclusion, we may note two :—The spelling of the name Kŏṇḍakunda, and the name of the great *guru* being associated with the Drāviḍa *sangha.*

As regards the first supposition, it may be observed that *kŏṇḍa* means a hill in Kannaḍa. (Kittel, *Kannaḍa-English Dicty.* p. 485), and *kuṇḍa,* means a hole in the ground, a pit. (Kittel, *ibid.*. p. 437), while *kunda* means a pillar of bricks. (Kittel, *ibid.*, p. 441). The first of the name (*kŏṇḍa*) is Kannaḍa, as is proved by the names Koṇḍabhaṭṭa (a male person), Koṇḍaganale (a village), Koṇḍakūru (village) Koṇaḷi (a village), Koṇḍalināḍ (district), Koṇḍanāḍ (a province), Koṇḍamma (a female person), etc. (*E. C. IV. Yd.* 54, pp. 60-61 ; VIII. Sb. 559, p. 89 ; VI. Mg. 76, pp. 282-3 ; V. Bl. 136, p. 90 ; VII. Sk. 129, p. 99 ; V. Ag. 22, p. 249). These and other names beginning with *koṇḍa* appear in numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions. As regards the second half of the name *kunda,* it is undoubtedly earlier and more common than *kuṇḍa.* (On Koṇḍakunda, see, *E. C.* V. Bl. 124, p. 83) Inscriptions give us the names of villages and centres that bore the name *kunda.* Thus in a record assigned to A.D. 900 we have the peak of Kunda (*kundaśilā*) situated to the west of Nimbagrāma in the village of Sandhikavāṭa. Here on the hill of the Kunda many companies of Jaina sages (*bahavo munipungavāḥ*) attained *siddhi,* and here Candraṣeṇa, the disciple of Śriṣeṇa obtained *mukti* in about A.D. 900 (*E. C.* IX Cp. 69, p. 145, text, p. 323). A number of Jaina devotees (among whom are mentioned two Jaina women) died in the orthodox manner here. This place seems to have been called also Kirukunda. (*E. C.* IX. Cp. 70 dated *circa* A.D., 900, *ibid* page).

arbitrary to assume that Samantabhadra, who, as related above, is always spoken of in inscriptions as having come almost soon after Balākapiñccha, lived in the first quarter of the second century A.D.[1]

From epigraphs as well as literature we know that Samanbhadra visited Kañcipura. Thus the record dated A.D. 1129 already referred to above, gives the following graphic description of the career of Samantabhadra :—" At first the drum was beaten by me within the city of Pāṭaḷiputra, afterwards

Now to the word *koṇḍa,* we have a fort of Koṇḍa (Koṇḍadakōṭe), which is unidentifiable, where the founder of the Śāntara line, Jinadatta Rāya, is said to have defeated and put to flight Kara and Karadūṣaṇa(*E. C.* VIII. Nr. 35, p. 134. Nr. 48, 151). A Kuṇḍa village in Āgumbesīme is mentioned in A.D. 1681 (*Ibid.,* TL. 89, p. 181). Kuṇḍagaṭṭa was in the Hodināḍ śīme (*Ibid,* IV. Ch. 77, p. 9).

These examples show beyond doubt that for the origin of the words *koṇḍa, kuṇḍa* or *konda,* we need not look for it in the Tamil land, but only in Karnāṭaka.

Then there is the other argument—that Koṇḍakunda's name is associated with the Drāviḍa *sangha.* Since this *sangha,* as has been amply proved in this treatise, was established *after* the original Mūla *sangha* had been divided into four *sanghas,* and that long after Koṇḍakunda's time, one cannot maintain at all that Koṇḍakunda's having been associated with the Drāvida *sangha* means that he belonged to the Tamil land.

Further, there is one more argument—Koṇḍakunda's association with a king who is supposed to have belonged to the Pallava dynasty. This, as Prof. Upadhye himself admits (*Pravacanasāra,* Intr. pp. xxiii-xxiv) is a hollow argument. All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that Koṇḍakunda must have been a Kannaḍiga, hailing from the village of Konakonala in the neighbourhood of Guntakal.

1. Ramaswami in another connection asserts that the Jainas had penetrated into the extreme south under Koṇḍakunda in the first century A.D. *Studies,* p. 44.

in the city of Māḷava, Sindhu, and Thakka, at Kañcipura, and at Vaidisa. I have now arrived at Karahāṭaka, which is full of soldiers, rich in learning, and crowded (with people). Desirous of disputation, O King, I exhibit the sporting of a tiger. When the disputant Samantabhadra stands in thy court, O King, even the tongue of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), who talks clearly and skilfully, turns back quickly towards the nape of the neck. What hope can there be for others?"[1]

So far as the above record is concerned, Samantabhadra went from Kañcipura to Karahāṭaka. This epigraph does not tell us what he did at Kañcipura, although in an earlier context it narrates that Samantabhadra was skilful in reducing to ashes the disease *bhasmaka* (morbid appetite).[2] Further details of this disease and the name of the Tamil king who became his disciple are given in Jaina literature and epigraphs, with no doubt some discrepancies. For instance, Prabhācandra in his *Ārādhanakathākośa* makes Samantabhadra, a victim to the *bhasmaka* disease, roam from Kañci to Pauṇḍrapura, Daśapura, and Benares where he performed the miracle of bringing out Pārśvanātha from an image of Śiva and converted the king Śivakoṭi into Jainism.[3]

But Karnāṭaka tradition as recorded by Devacandra in his *Rājāvaḷīkathe* has a different version to give of the same story. Unable to get himself cured of the morbid disease, Samantabhadra approached his *guru* (whose name is unfortunately not given) with a request to permit him to end his life by *sallekhanā*. But the *guru*, foreseeing that Samantabhadra was destined to be a great promoter of the faith, refused to give him permission, and directed him to go to any place where he might appease his hunger and take *dīkṣā*

1. & 2. *E. C.* II. 67, p. 25.
3. Prabhācandra cited by Harilal, *Cat. of MSS.*, p. x.

again. Then Samantabhadra went to Kañci where lived king Śivakoṭi, whose devotion consisted, among other things, of daily distributing twelve *khaṇḍugas* of rice in the temple of Bhīmalinga. Samantabhadra assured the king that he would make the god accept the food ; and one day while alone in the temple, ate up all the twelve *khaṇḍugas* of rice. On opening the temple doors the astonishing king found that all the food was gone ! The next day Samantabhadra left a quarter, and on the following day half of the food, explaining that the god had granted it for *prasāda.* But the suspicions of the king being aroused, he had the temple surrounded with his troops with orders to burst open the door. At this Samantabhadra was so frightened that he prayed to the Tīrthankaras, whereupon Candraprabha appeared in his full glory in the place of Bhīmalinga. Samantabhadra at once threw open the doors, and the bewildered king fell at his feet begging for instruction in the Jina faith. Making over his kingdom to his son, the king took *dīkṣā* and became known as Śivakoṭi Ācārya.[1]

From the above it is clear that Śivakoti was king of Kañci and not of Benares, as is narrated by Prabhācandra.[2] But it must be confessed that the age and identity of this king, as well as that of the king of Karahāṭaka, mentioned in one of the records cited above, will remain unsettled for want of sufficient data. All the same it may be suggested that it was in the second century A.D. that the tenets of the *anekāntamata* were spread to the great city of Kañci ; and

1. Devacandra cited by Narasimhacarya, *Kavicarite,* I. pp.2-4 ; *E. C.* II. Intr. p. 83, n(4).

2. Probably the north Indian tradition associated Śivakoṭi with Benares. Hiralal refers to Brahma Nemidatta who is said to have noticed it. *Cat. of MSS.* p. xix.

that, as an inscription of A.D. 1129 relates, it was through Samantabhadra that "the auspicious Jaina faith became again and again auspicious on all sides."[1] Even so late as A.D. 1432 he is called "the promulgator of the doctrine of Jina."[2]

It was also in the Tamil land that another celebrated Jaina preceptor won a great victory, thereby planting firmly the Jina faith in the southern parts of the country. This was the famous Akalankadeva about whose personal history no particulars are available. Jaina tradition relates that he was the son of a Brahman named Puruṣottama, who was the minister to the king Śubhatunga of Mānyakheṭa. This is related in the *Ārādhanakathākośa* by Prabhācandra, versified by Brahma Nemidatta.[3] But Akalankadeva himself in his *Rājavārtika* tells us that he was the son of a certain king called Laghu Havva.[4]

An equally inconclusive detail is in regard to the king in whose court Akalanka won a great victory. While there can be no doubt that he did win a notable victory in disputation, there is some discrepancy concerning the kingdom over which the monarch ruled. The earliest reference to the victory is in a stone inscription assigned to the tenth century A.D. In this record we are told that after Guṇanandi Śabdabrahmā came Akalankasimhāsana, who defeated the Buddhists and the Sānkhyas in a religious dispute. The name of the place where the dispute was held is not given in the record.[5] Guṇanandi mentioned in this inscription was pro-

1. *E. C.* II 67, p. 25.
2. *Ibid*, 258, p. 117.
3. Hiralal, *Cat. of MSS.*, Intr. p. xxvi.
4. *Ibid*, p. xxvii.
5. *M. A. R. for 1923*, p. 15.

bably the disciple of Balākapiñccha. He is described in a record of A.D. 1115 as "an emperor of good conduct, proficient in logic, grammar, and the other sciences, a master of literature, a lion in smiting the herd of intoxicated elephants, the false disputants, etc."[1]

As regards Akalanka's great powers, we have a graphic account of this teacher in a record dated A.D. 1129. "Who can comprehend (the greatness of) the blessed Akalankadeva, by whom Tārā that had become secretly manifest in a pot as her abode was overcome along with the Bauddhas...in the dust of whose lotus feet Sugata (*i.e.*, Buddha) performed an ablution as if in expiation of his sins?" In the court of a king called Sāhasatunga, Akalanka, as we have already seen above, while describing his own greatness said that it was not influenced by self-conceit or hatred, but through mere compassion that he overcame all the crowds of Bauddhas and broke Sugata with his foot, and that he achieved this fact in the court of the shrewd king Himaśītala.[2]

Numerous epigraphs, which are not cited here, refer to this victory won by Akalankadeva. But the identity of the king Himaśītala is still a matter of uncertainty. Wilson made him a Pallava king and assigned him to A.D. 788.[3] The same scholar is responsible for the assertion that Akalanka studied Buddhism in the Buddhist college at Ponataga Nagaram near Trivātur.[4] But Brahma Nemidatta informs us that

1. *E. C.* II. 127, p. 52 ; Cf. 66 of A.D.., 1176 p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 67, op. cit.
3. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection,* Intr. p. 40. How Prof. S. K. Ayyangar came to date this event in A.D. 855 is unintelligible. *Ancient India*, p. 269.
4. Wilson, *ibid.*, Rice, *My. Ins.*, Intr. p. 56 ; *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa*, Intr. p. 3. (1832) ; *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana,* Intr. pp. 9-10, 24-25.

Himaśītala was the king of Kalinga ;[1] while a later Sanskrit work entitled *Bhuvanapradīpikā* written in A.D. 1808 by Rāmakṛṣṇa Śāstri, makes Himaśītala a Jaina king of Tuṇḍīradeśa, and a descendant of Lokapāla, born in the line of Guṇapāla. We are told in this work that Himaśītala ruled in Kali 1125 Pingaḷa.[2]

Without discussing this question further, it may be observed that the contemporaneity of Akalanka with king Himaśītala (A.D. 788) and with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Sāhasatunga Dantidurga, suggests that Akalanka's great victory over the Buddhists may have been won in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. This period, therefore, reckoning from the time of Samantabhadra may be said to be the second phase in the progress of Jainism in the south.[3]

The third stage in the growth of Jainism in the Tamil country is reached when we come to the age of the Jaina sage Vajranandi. Devasena in his historical work dealing with the origin of the various Jaina *sanghas,* called *Darśanasāra,* composed in Vikrama Samvat 900 (A.D. 933), tells us

1. Harilal, *Cat. of MSS.*, p. xxvi.

2. *M. A. R. for 1918*, p. 68. But this writer is unreliable. Among the other wrong statements he makes are the following— That Cāmuṇḍa Rāya built the statue of Gomaṭa in Kali 600; that Vinayāditya Ballāḷa built Yādavapuri (Dorasamudra?) in Śaka 778; and that Vijayanagara was founded in Śaka 1093 by the Narapati kings.

3. This explains why Akalanka is styled in A.D. 1163 as one "through whom the Jaina doctrine, which had been stainless from the beginning, became respondent without any stain". (*E. C.* II. 64, p. 17.) We may note in this connection that Rice placed Akalanka in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (*My. & Coorg.*, p. 203); while Pathak assigning the same date to the Jaina *guru,* identified Sāhasatunga with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa I. (*J. Bom. R.A.S.* XVIII. p. 219).

that the Drāviḍa *sangha* was established in Madura by Vajranandi.[1] This piece of information is interesting, since it furnishes an additional detail concerning the famous *sanghas* established in Karnāṭaka and the south. The division of the original (Śrī Mūla) *sangha,* which was attached to the lineage of Koṇḍakunda, into the four famous branches of Deva, Nandi, Simha, and Sena was, according to the inscription dated A.D. 1398, the work of Ardhabali, who did so in order to minimize the hatred and other evils that might arise owing to the nature of the times. He is mentioned in the same record as having come after Guṇabhadra, the disciple of Jinasenācārya.[2] A later record dated A.D. 1432 merely states that the division of the original *sangha* took place after the death of Akalanka.[3]

The institution of the Drāviḍa *sangha* was, we may presume, in honour of the Tamil people among whom Jainism must have made considerable progress since the time of Samantabhadra. That is to say, the Drāviḍa *gana,* which, according to Devasena, was established by Pūjypāda, and of which that celebrated grammarian was the first *ācārya,*[4] must have had, in the course of the four or five centuries from Pūjyapāda to Vajranandi, such an enormous following that the latter Jaina preceptor found it advisable to raise it to the dignity of a *sangha.* Whatever that may be, the identity of Vajranandi deserves some notice. The inscription dated A.D. 1129 referred to above, places Vajranandi immediately after

1. Devasena, *Darśanasāra,* p. 24, referred to by Upadhye, *Pravacanasāra,* Intr. p. xxi. On the date of *Darśanasāra,* read Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 652.
2. *E. C.* II. 254, pp. 109, 110.
3. *Ibid,* 258, p. 117.
4. Hiralal, *ibid,* p. xxx.

Vakragrīva, and tells us that Vajranandi was the author of *Navastotra,* "an elegant work embodying the variety of the teachings of all the Arhats."[1]

With the help of the above facts, we argue thus in order to ascertain the date when Vajranandi established the Drāviḍa *sangha* in Madura :—

(a) The four *sanghas* were, according to the record dated A.D. 1432, divided after Akalanka's death. Since Akalanka is assigned to the latter part of the eighth century A.D., we have to suppose that the division into the four *sanghas* took place after the eighth century A.D.

(*b*) The four *sanghas* were the creation of Ardhabali who is placed after Guṇabhadra. Now Guṇabhadra was the disciple of Jinasena of the Sena *gaṇa* ; and we know the date of both these scholars. From the *praśasti* of the work called *Jayadhavaḷa-ṭīkā* begun by his *guru* Vīrasena, we know that Jinasena II completed it in Śaka 760 (A.D. 838) during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I.[2] Jinasena's disciple Guṇabhadra wrote the *Uttara-purāṇa* which he completed in Śaka 820 (A.D. 898).[3] We may therefore, legitimately place Guṇabhadra's successor Ardhabali in about A.D. 900. This would mean that the division of the original *sangha* into the four branches by Ardhabali took place in the last quarter of the ninth century or in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.

(*c*) The fact of Devasena's mentioning the establishment of the Drāviḍa *sangha* suggests that that *sangha* was founded

1. *E. C.* II. 67, pp. 25-26.

2. Hiralal, *Cat. of MSS.*, Intr. p. xxiii. This Jinasena is to be distinguished from Jinasena I, the author of *Harivamśa. Ibid,* p. xxii.

3. Hiralal, *ibid,* p. xxiv.

either during his life time or just before him. Since the Drāviḍa *sangha* was not included among the four *sanghas* into which Ardhabali divided the original Mūla *sangha,* it may be inferred that it was a later creation.

The validity of the above assumptions will be clear on examining the following points—Firstly, when we ascertain the *sangha* to which the Drāviḍa *sangha* was attached ; and, secondly, the name of the successors of Ardhabali who were directly responsible for the growth of the Drāviḍa *sangha.*

As regards the first point, it may be observed that the Drāviḍa *sangha* to which was attached the Irunguḷānvaya from which hailed many great Jaina *gurus,* was itself a subdivision of the Nandi *sangha.* Epigraphic evidence proves this. An inscription assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1050 speaks of Guṇasena Paṇḍita as having belonged to the Drāviḍa *sangha* (of the) Nandi *sangha* and Irunguḷānvaya.[1] This is further proved by a record dated A.D. 1064 which registered the death of the same *guru* whose preceptor we are told in the same inscription was Puṣpasena. Guṇasena is called the lord of the great Irungūḷānvaya of the Nandi *sangha* of the Drāviḍa *gaṇa.*[2] Instances may be multiplied to prove this further.[3]

Now in regard to the successors of Ardhabali who were

1. *E. C.,* IX, Cg. 37, p. 174. See also *ibid.,* Cg. 38 dated about the same year.

2. *Ibid.,* Cg. 34, p. 173.

3. See *Ibid.,* IV. Gu. 27 of A.D. 1196, p. 40 ; *V.* Hn. 131 of *circa* A.D. 1117, p. 37 ; Hn. 128 undated, p. 80 (translit) ; Ak. 1 of A.D. 1169, p. 112 ; Ak. 141 of A.D. 1159, p. 175 ; VI. Mg. 18 of *circa* A.D. 1040, p. 61 where Draviḷa *sangha* is said to belong to the Mūla *sangha;* VIII Nr. 36 of A.D. 1077, p. 139 ; Nr. 37. of A.D. 1147, p. 142 ; Nr. 39 of *circa* A.D. 1077, p. 143 ; Nr. 40, of A.D. 1077, p. 144 ; XI, Dg. 90, p. 69.

directly associated with the Drāviḍa *sangha*. Although convention and respect for the memory of the great leaders of the past made the scribes of some inscriptions associate the names of Bhadrabāhu, Koṇḍakunda, and Samantabhadra with the origin of the Drāviḍa *sangha*, yet we know from inscriptions that only four Jaina preceptors were primarily connected with the Drāviḍa *sangha*. These were Bhūtabali, Puṣpadanta, Vajranandi, and Patrakesarisvāmi. Thus in a record of A.D. 1160 we have the following :—" ...Arunguḷānvaya of the Drāviḍa *sangha* which had come down increasing from Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta Bhaṭṭāraka, from Samantabhadrāsvāmi and Akalankadeva, from Vakragrīvācārya, from Vajranandi Bhaṭṭāraka ", and others down to Vasupūjyasvāmi.[1] The same with slight variations is repeated in a record dated A.D. 1169.[2] The first two Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta were the disciples of Ardhabali. This is proved by the record of A.D. 1398 which asserts that Ardhabali " shone with his two disciples Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali."[3] Therefore, it was the immediate disciples of Ardhabali who were responsible for the growth of the Drāviḍa *sangha*. And as regards Patrakesarisvāmi, who is called in a record of A.D. 1136 the head of the Dramiḷa *sangha*, we know from the inscription of A.D. 1129 that he came after Vajranandi, and that by the grace of Padmāvatī he refuted the *trailakṣaṇa* theory.[4]

Hence it is clear from the above facts that, in spite of the occasional reference to the earlier preceptors like Bhadrabāhu, etc., the institution of the four *sanghas* from the ori-

1. *E. C.* VI, Kd. 69, p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, V. Ak. 1, p. 112.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 254, p. 110.
4. *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 17, p. 51.

ginal Mūla *sangha* was the work of Ardhabali; that the Drāviḍa *sangha* was a sub-division of the Nandi *sangha* which was most famous of the four *sanghas*; that the prosperity of the Drāviḍa *sangha* is to be attributed to the activities of the two disciples of Ardhabali—Bhūtabali and Puṣpadanta;[1] and that the establishment of the Drāviḍa *sangha* at Madura was the work of Vajranandi in the last quarter of the ninth or in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D.[2]

Two other names are associated with the spread of Jainism in the Tamil land—Kanakasena and Guṇasena. Kanakasena was connected with Dharmapuri (Tagḍūr in the Salem district). A stone inscription dated Śaka 815 (A.D. 893) relates that a nobleman in the reign of Mahendrarājādhirāja Noḷamba gave a grant to the *basadi* at Dharmapuri and to Kanakasena Bhaṭṭāraka.[3] A Guṇasena also figures in the

1. *E. C.* II, 67. p. 26; Pathak, *J. Bom. R. A. S.*, XVIII, p. 232.

2. On Vakragrīva, the predecessor of Vajranandi, read *E. C*, II, 67, p. 26; IV. Ng. 100, pp. 139-141, V. Bl. 17 p. 51; Ak. 1, p. 112; Ak. 141, p. 175; VI. Kd. 69, p. 13; *M.A.R., for 1926*, p. 51. A disciple of Vajranandi by name Mugulina Pārśvadeva is mentioned in a record the cyclic year of which cannot be determined. *E.C.*, V. Hn. 128, p. 8. (translit.) These conclusions based upon epigraphic records invalidate the assertion made in the *Digambara Darśana* (*J. Bom. R. A. S.*, XVII. p. 74) that Vajranandi founded the Dramila *sangha* at Madura in Vikrama year 526 (A.D. 470). This has been implicitly followed by Ramaswami, *Studies*, p. 52; P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, *History of the Tamils*, p. 247; Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Lit.*, pp. 21-22. Further we may note that the assertion made in the *Digambara Darśana* that Vajranandi was the disciple of Pūjyapāda is altogether unsupported by the many epigraphic records which we have examined in detail.

3. *304 of 1901*; Rangacharya, *Top. List*, II, p. 1211. See also *61 & 63 of 1900*; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, II, 990, 1003.

records of the south, and especially in the reign of a king called Varaguṇa Vikramāditya.[1] These two preceptors are mentioned in other records as well.[2]

But neither of them can be identified with the meagre data before us. A Kanakasenamuni, the *guru* of Baladevamuni, is mentioned in a record assigned to *circa* A.D. 650.[3] In what way he was connected with the Tamil land, cannot be determined. As regards Guṇasena, we have two Jaina preceptors of that name. There was Guṇasena-guruvar, who was the disciple of Moniguruvar of Agaḷi, and who died in about A.D. 700.[4] A more conspicuous Guṇasena was the disciple of Puṣpasena. This *guru* hailed from Muḷḷūru in Coorg, and, as we have already seen, died in A.D. 1064.[5]

Likewise unidentifiable is the name of Ēlācārya, who is supposed by some to have been the author of the Tamil classic *Kural.* It is related in Jaina tradition that Ēlācārya after composing this work, gave it to his disciple Tiruvaḷḷuvar, who introduced it to the Śangham at Madura.[6] This has to be given up for the following reasons—In the first place, the identity of Ēlācārya himself is by no means settled. There are at least three Jaina *gurus* of that name. Jaina tradition relates that Ēlācārya was another name of Koṇḍakundācārya.[7] But, as Prof. Upadhye has pointed out, there is no basis for asserting that Koṇḍakundācārya was ever called

1. *330 of 1908* ; Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, II, p. 995 ; III, p. 1696.
2. *Rangacharya, ibid.*, II, p. 1003.
3. *E. C.*, II. Intr. p. 72 ; 2, p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 8, p. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, I. Cg. 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, pp. 65-67.
6. Upadhye, *Pravancanasāra*, pp. xx-xxi.
7. *I. A.*, XII. p. 20 ; Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 31. n (1).

Ēlācārya.[1] Moreover, the intimate association of the Jaina *gurus* with the Tamil people seems to have begun only after the time of Samantabhadra. Hence we cannot conceive of Koṇḍakundācārya visiting the south in order to inspire a great Tamil poet to present his work to the Śangham at Madura. A second Ēlācārya has already figured in the above pages. He was the disciple of Śrīdharadeva, and is supposed to have lived in *circa* A.D. 910.[2] This age would be too late for Ēlācārya, the contemporary of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, whose lowest age, according to some, is the sixth or seventh century A.D.[3] Then there is another Ēlācārya, mentioned in a record assigned by Rice to *circa* A.D. 1060. Nothing more is known about this person than that his lay disciple was Bindayya.[4]

Secondly, the name as it appears in Tamil literature and in Ceylon chronicles is not Ēlācārya but Elesingha, Elala, and Aḷāra. It is said that the profound scholarship of Tiruvaḷḷuvar attracted the notice of Elesingha, a great merchant who carried an overseas trade. This merchant accepted Tiruvaḷḷuvar as his preceptor ; and at the former's request Tiruvaḷḷuvar composed the great *Kural*.[5] According to the Ceylonese chronicles it was Eḷēra or Aḷāra (which word seems to have been a corruption of the Tamil Elēla), a Coḷa nobleman, who invaded Ceylon, slew the local ruler Asēla, and ruler over that island from B.C. 145 to B.C. 101.[6] The Tamil

1. Upadhye, *op. cit.*, pp. xx-xxi.
2. See also *E. C.*, Yd. 28, p. 56. But Rice assigns this record to *circa* A.D. 1100.
3. Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature*, p. 38.
4. *E. C.*, IV. Ng. 67, p. 129.
5. Dikshitar, *ibid.*, p. 128.
6. Geiger, *Mahavamso*, Intr. p. xxxvii (1912, ed) ; Dikshitar, *ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

tradition, therefore, makes Elesingha a merchant ; the Ceylonese chronicles, a ruler ; and the Jaina tradition, a sage ![1]

Although the linking up of the name of Ēlācārya with Tiruvaḷḷuvar has to be rejected, yet it cannot be denied that after Samantabhadra's time, and especially after the foundation of the Drāviḍa *sangha* at Madura by Vajranandi, Jainism had made rapid progress and established many centres in the Tamil land.[2]

The Tamil works *Paṭṭinapālai*, *Śilappadikāram*, and *Maṇimekhalai* contain interesting details of the Jainas in the Tamil land. The great centres were at Madura, Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam (mod. Kāveripaṭṭṇam in the Śiyāḷi tāluka), and Uraiyūr on the banks of the Kāverī. The *Paṭṭinappālai* speaks of the Jaina and Buddhist temples being in one quarter of the city of Pugār (*i.e.*, Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam), while in another the Brahmans with plaited hair performed sacrifices and raised volumes of smoke.[3] The other classics relate that the Jainas, who were called by the name Ni(r)-granthas, lived outside the town in their cool cloisters, the walls of which were exceedingly high and painted red and

1. Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyer doubts whether Manu-Coḷa of the *Periyapurāṇam*, Elesingha of the Tamil tradition, and Eḷēra of the *Mahavamso* were not identical ! *Historical Sketches*, p. 186.

2. Of these Kāveripūmpaṭṭinam and Uraiyūr were well known Coḷa capitals, the former owing to its foundation to the king Karikāla Coḷa. The inscriptions in Uraiyūr date only to the eleventh century A.D. But the dates of Karikāla Coḷa are unknown, although he has been placed in the earlier half of the sixth century A.D. (Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 1. n. 1 ; 188, 190-191). If this is accepted, it seems as if we are to place the *Śilappadikāram*, which speaks of that city as being a centre of Jainism, also in the same century.

3. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *ibid.*, p. 198.

which were surrounded by little flower gardens. Their temples were situated at places where two or three roads met. They preached their doctrines from raised platforms; and they conducted monasteries for nuns.[1] These details perhaps refer to Madura.

In the *Maṇimekhalai* we have a detailed exposition of the Nirgrantha philosophy as preached in Madura. Maṇimekhalai dissatisfied with the teachings of Markali, turns to the Nirgrantha and asks him to describe to her his deity, his teachings, his authoritative texts, and his idea of bondage and *nīrvāṇa*. And then the Nirgrantha relates in detail the six sections of his teachings,—*dharmāstikāya adharmāstikāya, kāla, ākāsa, jīva,* and *paramāṇus,* with good and bad deeds, and the release (*vīḍu*).[2]

Although no conclusion has been arrived at concerning the age to which *Maṇimekhalai* can be assigned,[3] yet it may be presumed that the account of the Jaina philosophy as given in that work was in vogue in the south somewhere in the

1. Ramaswami, *Studies*, p. 47.

2. For a detailed account read Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils 18,000 Years Ago*, pp. 215-216, Ramaswami, *ibid.*, pp. 50-51, S. K. Ayyangar, *Manimekhalai in Its Historical Setting*, pp. 196-197.

3. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar is inclined to place this work in the second century A.D. *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 168-192; *Ancient India*, pp. 360, 380-382. This conclusion of Dr. Ayyangar was long ago controverted and disproved by M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, who has amply demonstrated that *Maṇimekhalai* belongs to the sixth or seventh century A.D. *Studies*, pp. 149-153. Dr. Ayyangar has failed to meet these arguments. Read his *Maṇimekhalai*, pp. xxvi—xxix. Ramaswami Ayyangar's conclusion is supported by Prof. Jacobi who also opined that *Maṇimekhalai* was to be assigned to the sixth century A.D. Read Jacobi in S. K. Ayyangar's *Maṇimekhalai*, Intr. p. xxxiv.

fifth or sixth century A.D.[1]

Circumstances narrated elsewhere in this treatise point to a bitter campaign which the Śaiva saints launched against the teachers of the *anekāntamata* in the south. This may have been in the tenth and eleventh century A.D., when as a result of the Śaivite revival the influence of the Jainas in Madura was once and for ever shattered. But there were other parts of the southern peninsula where Jainism continued to live long after the days of the great Jñānasamandhar and other well known Śaiva saints.

One of these was Vallimalai, near Tiruvallam in the Wandiwash tāluka of the North Arcot district. Kannaḍa records in the Grantha characters prove the importance of this place as a Jaina stronghold in the ninth and tenth century A.D. The Ganga king Rācamalla Satyavākya I, the son of Raṇavikrama (*i.e.*, Vijayāditya, Raṇavikrama) and grandson of king Śrīpuruṣa, built a *basadi* on Vallimalai.[2] Another record also in Kannaḍa but in Grantha characters mentions the setting up of an image of Devasena, the pupil of Bhavānandi. Devasena was the *guru* of an unidentified Bāṇa king.[3] The work of setting up the above image was done by a Jaina sage called Āryanandi, also known as Ajjanandi.[4] It cannot be made out whether this was the same Ajjanandi who is called "the glorious" in a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription in characters of the tenth or eleventh cen-

1. About a century later *Śūḷāmaṇi*, a celebrated Jaina work, may have been composed by Tōlāmoḷittēva in the reign, it is said, of Śendan (Jayanta), the grandson of Kaḍungon. M. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p. 219.

2. *91 of 1889; 6 of 1895.*

3. *7 of 1895* Rangachari, *Top. List*, I, p. 120.

4. *8 of 1895*

tury A.D., commemorating the setting up of another image in Karungālakkuḍi in the Madura tāluka.[1]

Ajjanandi's name is also connected with Pēccipaḷḷam, the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of which mention not only that Jaina *guru* but, as we said in an earlier context, Guṇanandi and Kanakasena.[2] This village of Pēccipaḷḷam in the Madura tāluka as well as Kīlavaḷavu, Seṭṭipoḍavu near Kīlakkuḍi, Muttupaṭṭi, and Aḷagārkoil also in the same tāluka, were Jaina centres in the early centuries of the Christian era. Remains of Jaina *basadis*, rows of Jaina sculptures, and caverns with Brahmi and Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions, point to the strong Jaina influence in these parts of the Tamil land.[3]

More important than any of the above was Kuraṇḍi in the Vēṇbunāḍu. It was also called Tirukkuraṇḍi and Kuraṇḍi Tirukkāṭṭambaḷḷi in early inscriptions. A number of inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters reveal the importance of this place in the eighth and ninth century A.D. Many Jaina teachers whose identity cannot be determined at present, are said to have presided over the congregation at Kuraṇḍi. Thus, Guṇasenapperiyaḍigal, the disciple of Vartamānava Paṇḍitar, was the *guru* of this centre in about the ninth century A.D.[4] Another teacher of this centre was Abhinandana Bhaṭāra, the disciple of Arimaṇḍala

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1. *562 of 1911.* Ajjanandi's domicile seems to have been Pēccipaḷḷam itself where a Vaṭṭeluttu inscription records that his mother Guṇamatiyar caused a Jaina image to be set up. (*64 of 1910*). Ajjanandi is also mentioned in records found at Ānamalai, Madura tāluka. (*67-74 of 1905*).

2. *65-69 of 1910.*

3. *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle for 1910,* pp. 78-80.

4. *330-332 of 1908.* See also *69 of 1910.*

Bhaṭāra.[1] Kanakanandi is called the servant of Tirukkuraṇḍi in a Vaṭṭeluttu record found there.[2] Two Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions found at Muttupaṭṭi are of some interest in this connection. One informs us that Kanakavīra Periyaḍigaḷ, the disciple of Guṇasenadevar, who was the disciple of Kuraṇḍi Aṭṭa-upavāsi-bhaṭāra of Vēṇbunāḍu, caused a Jaina image to be constructed in the name of the inhabitants of Kuyirkuḍi (mod. Kīḷakkuḍi).[3] And another relates that Māghanandi, the disciple of Kuraṇḍi Aṣṭa-upavāsi-bhaṭāra, caused to be constructed another image also in the name of the inhabitants of that *nāḍu*.[4] A third Vaṭṭeluttu record found at Paḷḷimaḍam in the Rāmnad district, registers the gift of fifty-five sheep by Śātetangāri for a lamp to the temple (*basadi*) of Tirukāṭṭambaḷḷideva at Kuraṇḍi.[5]

Some more instances may be given of the widespread influence of Jainism in the southern peninsula. Tagḍūr (Dharmapuri) in the Salem district was a Jaina stronghold in the ninth century A.D. in the days of the Noḷambas. In Śaka 800 (A.D. 878) the Pallava Mahendra Noḷamba made a grant to a *basadi* in Tagḍūr.[6] It was in the reign of the same ruler in Śaka 815 (A.D. 893) that a citizen named Nandiyaṇṇa receiving the village of Mūllapaḷḷi from the king gave it as a gift to Kanakasena Siddhānta, the disciple of Vinayasena Siddhānta of the Pogarīya

1. *63 of 1910.*
2. *68 of 1910.*
3. *61 of 1910.*
4. *62 of 1910.*
5. *428 of 1914.* For some more instances, see *430, 431 of 1914; Ep. Rep. of S. Circle for 1915*, pp. 100-101; Rangacharya, *Top. List*, III, p. 1163.
6. *348 of 1901;* Rangacharya, *ibid*, II. p. 1212.

gaṇa, Senānvaya, and Mūla *sangha,* for the repairs of the *basadi.*[1]

In the ninth century Jainism flourished also in some parts of the Travancore State. Of these mention may be made of Citaral where Tirucchāṇattumalai was known as the mountain of the Cāraṇas or Śramaṇas (*i.e.*, the Jainas). This place which seems to have been originally Buddhist, witnessed the gift of some golden ornaments to the goddess Bhagavatī by Guṇandāngi Kurattigaḷ, the disciple of Ariṭṭanemi Bhaṭāra of Pērāyakuḍi. This was in the 28th regnal year of king Vikrama Varaguṇa (ninth century (A.D.)[2]

That in the tenth and eleventh century A.D. there were Jainas throughout the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya countries and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam is proved by a record of the Coḷa king Rāja Rāja Deva I dated in his 24th regnal year (A.D. 1009), in which the State dealt with defaulters of land revenue held by the Brahmans, the Vaikhānasas, and the Jainas in the three provinces mentioned above. The monarch empowered the villagers to confiscate and sell the lands of those whose taxes were unpaid for full two years.[3] This epigraph clearly shows that the great Coḷa king made no distinction between the Jainas and the other subjects of his Empire.

Vilappākkam in the North Arcot district was a Jaina locality in the same age (the tenth century A.D.) Here was Ariṣṭanemipiḍārar of Tiruppānamalai, the *guru* of the Jainas. One of his lay disciples (a woman) sank a well

1. *304 of 1901, E. I.* X. pp. 54-70; see also *305 of 1901* for other examples.

2. *Travancore Manual,* II. pp. 194-5 For the Buddhist antecedents of the temple, read *ibid.*, pp. 224-225.

3. *29 of 1893;* Rangacharya, *Top List.*, I. p. 69.

in that village in the 38th regnal year of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I (A.D. 945 ?).[1] It cannot be made out whether the Jaina *guru* Ariṣṭanemi mentioned here was identical with his namesake hailing from Kaḍaikottur, and who was said to have been the pupil of Paravādimalla of Tirumala, in a Tamil-Grantha record found in Tirumalai in the North Arcot district.[2]

But we know that Tirumalai was, indeed, a Jaina centre in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. An inscription found there, and dated in the 21st regnal year of king Rāja Rāja I (A.D. 1006), affirms that a Jaina sage named Guṇavīramuni built a sluice called after (his?) Jaina teacher Gaṇiśekhara who was skilled in all elegant arts.[3] Another record but of the 12th regnal year of king Rājendra Deva I (A.D. 1024) records the gift of money for the lamp and worship in the Jaina temple on the Tirumalai (hill) by the wife of a merchant of Malliyūr. The Jaina temple, it is interesting to note, had been founded by the Coḷa king's aunt Kuṇḍavi.[4] A Jaina image of Arhat was set up here at Tirumalai by a lady of Ponnūr in the 12th regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvarāya (who was perhaps the contemporary of the Coḷa king Rāja Rāja III).[5]

Vēḍal called Viḍaḷ *alias* Mādevī Arindamangalam, also in the North Arcot district, contained a Jaina *basadi*. The locality was called Viḍārpaṭṭi in a record dated in the 14th regnal year of a Pallava king named merely Nandi,[6]

1. *53 of 1900* ; Rangacharya, *Top List*, I, p. 57.
2. *88 of 1887 ;* Rangacharya, *ibid*, I, pp. 80-81.
3. *82 of 1887 ;* Rangacharya, *ibid*, I, p. 80 where Rangacharya has a note on Guṇavīra.
4. *80 of 1887; S. I. I.*, I, pp. 95 99; *E. I.* IX. pp. 229-223.
5. *85 of 1887.*
6. *8? of 1908.*

who may be identified with the Pallava king Nandipottarasar (Nandivarmā III, the Ganga Pallava king?). In the 50th regnal year of this ruler a Yakṣi named Ponniyakkiyār and a Jaina sage called Nāganandi were carved on a boulder on Tiruppānamalai.[1]

There was a temple called Nakhara *Jinālaya* at Mudigoṇḍacoḷapuram, Coimbatore district, dedicated to Candraprabhasvāmi. In Śaka 1031 (A.D. 1109) a village in Hadināḍu was granted for the repairs and worship in this temple by some person.[2]

Kumbanūr in Vēṇbuvalanāḍu was a prosperous Jaina centre in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. This is inferred from a record dated in the 48th regnal year of the Coḷa king Kulottunga Coḷa Deva (I ?) (A.D. 1126), in which twenty-five Jainas of Kumbanūr granted, among other precious gifts, specified land for the site of a *basadi*, and a watershed for the use of Jaina devotees.[3]

We have ample evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in the thirteenth century during the reign of the king Rāja Rāja III. Some of the records show the good feelings that existed between the Jainas and the Brahmans. Thus, an inscription dated in the 11th regnal year of that monarch (A.D. 1227) registers the grant of land and a tank by the residents of the *devadāna* village of Śattamangalam and those living in the Paḷḷicchandam (*i.e.*, the *basadi*) of the same village. But nothing more can be gathered about the

1. *10 of 1895*; *E. I.* IV, pp. 136-137. A Kanakavīra-kuratti, the disciple of Guṇakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, is mentioned in a record of Veḍal. (84 of 1908).

2. *10 of 1910.*

3. *397 of 1914*; Rangacharya, *Top List,* II, p. 1161.

Jaina temple from the same record.[1] In the thirty-seventh year of the same king (A.D. 1253) Pramaladevī built the steps leading to the shrine of the Jaina temple called Karikālacoḷa, which had been constructed on behalf of Matisāgaradeva, in the village of Kanupartipāḍu in the Nellore district.[2]

We may assign to the reign of the same Coḷa monarch the building of a *basadi* called Vīravīra Jinālaya (mod. Ponninātha *basadi*) in the village of Pūṇḍi in the North Arcot district. The record contains only the names of the village given as a gift and of the ruler called Śambuvarāya.[3] The ruler Śambuvarāya mentioned here may be identified with Rājagambhīra Śambuvarāya, a contemporary of king Rāja Rāja III, spoken of in a record dated A.D. 1258.[4]

From the numerous epigraphs which clearly prove the popularity of Jainism in the Tamil land long after the days of Jñānasambhandhar and the other great Śaiva saints of the south, we may now turn to the Telugu land where we shall rapidly review the epigraphs dealing with the spread of Jain-

1. *466 of 1912* ; Rangacharya, *Top List,* II, p. 1431. It cannot be made out whether Vādhūla Śri Kriṣṇasūri mentioned in a record dated A.D. 1234, was a Jaina. (*26 of 1896*)

2. Rangacharya, *ibid.* II, p. 1117. It cannot be made out whether the two records dated in the 18th and 20th regnal years of a Rāja Rāja Deva in the Jina temple at Tirupparuttikunṛu, Conjeeveram tāluka, Chingleput district, have to be assigned to the reign of the same monarch. (*40 and 44 of 1890*). What seems evident is that that village possessed a *basadi* in the eleventh and twelfth century A.D. (See also *43 of 1890* dated in the 21st year of an unidentified Kulottunga Coḷa Deva).

3. *58 of 1900.*

4. *93 of 1887; S. I. I.,* p. 108; Rangacharya, *ibid,* I. p. 79. See also *89 of 1887* which calls him Attimakkan Śambukula Perumāḷ. Rangacharya, *ibid,* I. p. 81. On modern Jaina settlements in the Tamil land, read Ramaswami, *Studies,* pp. 78-79.

ism. There may be some justification for the view that Jainism in the Āndhradeśa can be traced to the pre-Mauran days,[1] when we consider the notices of Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra preached Jainism in Kalinga.[2] The *Hāribhadrīyavṛtti* says that Mahāvīra went to Kalinga where his father's friend was ruling.[3] That this tradition has some semblance of truth in it, and that Jainism must have made some headway in the days of king Khāravela is proved by the Hāthigumpha record of that powerful monarch (first half of the second century B.C.) In this inscription it is said that that monarch set up an image of Jina in Kalinga which had been taken away by king Nanda. Further we are told in the same inscription that in the thirteenth regnal year of king Khāravela on the Kumāri hill where the Wheel of Conquest had been well revolved (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been preached), the great conqueror Khāravela offered maintenances, China cloths, and white cloths to the monks who (by their austerities) had extinguished the round of lives, and to the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the *niśidhi.*

King Khāravela himself, therefore, was a devout Jaina. As a layman he was devoted to worship, and he realized the nature of *jīva* and *deha.* He ordered an assemblage of all the wise ascetics and sages from all quarters. And to this Great Council (*saṁghayana*) came Śramaṇas of good deeds and those who followed the injunctions. And near the Relic Depository of the Arhat on the top of the hill (evidently on the Kumāri) he caused to be built (a great *basadi*) with

1. Seshagiri Rao, *Andhra-Karnataka Jainism,* pp. 3-4. (Madras, 1922).

2. Read *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society;* XIII, p. 223.

3. Cited in *E. I.* XX, p. 88, n (10).

stones brought from many miles and quarried from excellent mines for the queen Sindhula. But that was not all. His crowning achievement as a Jaina was the compilation (*upādhyati*) of the *Aṁgas* (of the 64 letters) which was undertaken by him in his 13th year.[1] This great work was done at a cost of seventy-five hundred thousand (gold pieces).[2] No wonder this great monarch, who was the descendant of the royal sage Vasū, and who has "been seeing, hearing, and realizing blessings (*kalyāṇas*)", is called the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks, and the King of *dharma*.[3]

The advent and success of Jainism in the Āndhradeśa in the second century B.C. is thus proved beyond doubt. But it is only from the seventh century A.D. onwards that we have definite evidence of the widespread influence of that religion. The credit of fostering the *anekāntamata* goes to the Eastern Cālukya monarchs some of whom were Jaina by persuasion. Ayyana Mahādevī, the queen of king Viṣṇuvardhana III of that family, renewed in Śaka 684 (A.D. 762) an earlier grant of a village named Musunikunda (location given) to the Jaina temple Nadumba *basadi* at Bījavāḍa through the teacher Kālibhadrācārya of the Kavarūri *gaṇa* and the Sanghānvaya.[4]

Then we have king Amma II, Vijayāditya VI (A.D. 945—A.D. 970), who, according to an undated copper-plate grant, gave a village (named) to the Jaina teacher Arhanandi of the Valahāri *gaṇa* and the Aḍḍakali *gaccha*. The grant was made for repairing the dining-hall of the *basadi* called Sarvalo-

1. On the *Aṁigas*, read J. L. Jaini, *Gommaṭasāra*, Intr. p. 12.
2. On this great work read Jayaswal—Banerjee, *E. I.* IX. p. 77.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 88-89.
4. *Ep. Rep. of S. Circle* for 1917-1918, p. 116; Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 56.

kāśraya *Jinabhuvana* in Kaḷacumbharru in the Attilināṇḍu province. The grant was made at the instance of a lady (Śrāvaki), named Cāmekāmbā of the Paṭṭavardhīka lineage, a pupil of Arhanandi.[1]

The same king granted another village named Malliyapūṇḍi in the Ongole tāluka, to the Jaina temple called Kaṭakābharaṇa, obviously in the same village. This temple had been constructed by Duggarāja, the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇarāja. And in the reign of the same ruler it was presided over by the *guru* Dhīradeva, the disciple of Divākara of the Yāpaṇīya *sangha* and Nandi *gaccha.*[2] King Amma II granted gifts to *basadis* in other places as well, as for instance to the two temples at Vijayavāṭikā, also called Bījavāḍa, (mod. Bezwada) according to an undated inscription of that ruler.[3] It is not unlikely that one of these two temples was the same to which the Queen Ayyaṇa Mahādevī had given a grant in the eighth century A.D.[4]

Dānavulapāḍu in the Jammalamadugu tāluka, Cuddapah district, possessed a *basadi* which was patronized by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nityavarṣa (*i.e.*, Indra IV). This ruler caused a pedestal to be made for the bathing ceremony of the god Śāntinātha.[5]

Rāmatīrtha near Vizianagaram was likewise a prominent locality of the Jainas. A Kannaḍa inscription of the reign of the Eastern Cālukyan king Vimalāditya (accession A.D.

1. *E. I.* VII. pp. 177-192 ; Rangacharya, *Top List,* II. p. 907 ; Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
2. *E. I.* IX, pp. 47 seq ; Rangacharya, *ibid*, p. 793. Butterworth—Chetty, *Nellore Ins.* I. pp. 167-175.
3. *C. P. 8 of 1908-9 ;* Rangacharya, *ibid,* pp. 8778.
4. *Ep. .Rep. S. Circle for 1917-1918*, p. 116, *op. cit.*, Seshagiri Rao, *ibid*, p. 20.
5. *331 of 1905* ; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, II, p. 589.

1022) records that the *guru* of that ruler, by name the Traikālayogi Siddhānta Deśigaṇācārya, visited Rāmatīrtha.[1]

In the reign of the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarmadeva, the merchant Kaṇṇama Nāyaka constructed a *basadi* called Rājarāja *Jinālaya* at Bhogapura in the Bimilapaṭam tāluka of the Vizagapatam district. And in Śaka 1109 (A.D. 1187) he gave some specified land to that temple with the consent of the mercantile leaders of the district.[2]

Tāḍpatri in the Anantpur district seems to have been associated with Jainism in Śaka 1120 (A.D. 1198). For a Jaina record of that date mentions the donor, Udayāditya, the son of Somadeva and Kañcalādevī, as residing at Tāṭipara (Tāḍpatri). But no traces of the Jaina settlement are visible there now.[3]

Penugoṇḍa in the same district contained the Pārśvanātha *basadi*. An inscription mentions Jinabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, but nothing beyond this can be gathered about the temple.[4]

The Bellary district was dotted with many Jaina settlements the chief of which was Kōgaḷī. The ancient Cenna Pārśva temple at this place which, as we saw in the preceding pages, had received patronage at the hands of the Western

1. Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, 19-20. Seshagiri Rao also gives evidence from later *Kaifiyuts* to show that Warangal (ancient Ekaśīlanagara) was once a Jaina centre. *Ibid.* pp. 17-18. The reference given to *Ep. Rep. S. circle for 1917-18* cannot be traced. But on king Vimalāditya's accession read *I. A.*, XIV. p. 56; XXIII, p. 131; Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 569.

2. *363 of 1905.*

3. This record was found in the Rāmeśvara temple at Tāḍpatri. *338 of 1892.*

4. *345 of 1901.* Seshagiri Rao mentions other localities in the Anantapur district where traces of Jainism have been found. Seshagiri Rao, *ibid.*, p. 34.

Cālukyan monarch Someśvara I (A.D. 1042—A.D. 1068), also received a gift of gold from the Hoysala king Vīra Rāmanāthadeva (A.D. 1257—A.D. 1295).[1] Sōgi in the Haḍagalli tāluka of the same district, which received a gift of land from the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana, was evidently another seat of the Jainas.[2] And a yet third centre was Koṭṭūru in the Rāyadurga tāluka.[3]

Although the strongholds of Jainism in the Āndhra and the Tamil provinces were less numerous and less powerful than those in Karnāṭaka, yet they have left abiding marks on the culture of the Tamil and Āndhra peoples. Before we deal with this side of the question, we may conclude our account of the widespread domicile of Jainism in Karnāṭaka where Jainism manfully struggled against odds to retain its hold on the people. But we shall restrict ourselves to the minor centres of the *anekāntamata.*

Chief among these were Toḷḷa or Toḷḷar and Mūlivaḷḷi, both of which have already been referred to above while dealing with one of the Ganga kings and his feudatories. The Narasimharājapura plates of the Ganga king Śrīpuruṣa, assigned to the close of the eighth century A.D., mention the *cediya* or *caitya* in the Toḷḷa village situated in the Tagarenāḍ.[4] This is corroborated by two inscriptions at the end of the same grant, but of the reign of king Śivamāra (II). One of these commemorates the gift of a village (named) to the same *caitya* by the governor Viṭṭarasa, while the other

1. *33 & 34 of 1904.*
2. *453 of 1914.*
3. For an account of this place, read *Ballary Gazetteer,* I pp. 290-291. For further remarks Jainism in the Telugu land, and Seshagiri Rao, *op cit.,* pp. 12-18, 34-35, 37-9; Rangacharya, *Top. List,* II, p. 1672.
4. *M. A. R. for 1920,* p. 28, op. cit.

registers the gift of land to the *caitya* of Mūlivaḷḷi (mod. Mallavaḷḷi) by Vijayaśakti-arasa.[1]

There is every reason to believe that the famous Nandi Hill once contained a *Jinālaya* of great antiquity. As in other places, the original Jina image gave place to that of Gopālasvāmi, all vestiges of Jainism having been lost.[2] These suppositions are based on a beautifully carved boulder with characters of the Ganga period (eighth century A.D.), which gives us the following interesting account of the Nandi Hill. It opens with an invocation to the adorable Vṛṣabha, the most excellent of the holy Jainas. And then it directly deals with the antiquities of the *Jinālaya* on the Nandi Hill thus :—In former times, in the Dvāpārayuga of the Kali-avasarppiṇi, by Rāmasvāmi, the Mahāratha son of Daśaratha, sun in the sky of the Solar race, (to wit) by Puruṣottama, who for the purpose of bringing the world into good order desired to be incarnated as a man—, was the *caityabhavana* of the adorable Arhat, the lofty one, the omniscient, established. Afterwards by the mother of the Pāṇḍavas, Kuntīdevī, was it rebuilt anew.

The hill itself is praised thus—To the ornament of the earth goddess, a path to the attainment of *svarga* and *mokṣa*, like the jewel in the head of (the serpent) Dharaṇendra, who bears up the world, the best of mountains, purified by the presence of the Jainendra *caitya*, a supreme *tīrtha* (*parama tīrtha*), having caves suited for the residence of groups of great *ṛṣis* intent upon the performance of penance, by name

1. *M. A. R. for 1920*, p. 28, op. cit.

2. Two other instances of Jaina temples which have passed hands are those of Cikka Māgaḍi and Terakaṇāmbi. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 19; *ibid for 1912*, p. 24.

Śrīkunda (stops here).[1]

The plain and direct manner in which the *caitya* on the Nandi Hill is connected with the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and with Kuntīdevī suggests that the Jainendra *caitya* was, indeed, an institution of some antiquity; and the simple but deserving praise bestowed on Karnāṭaka's most famous hill station[2] shows that the Jains were endowed with a remarkable aptitude for turning splendid spots into supremely holy places.

A modern insignificant village which was once a prominent seat of the Jainas (in the ninth century A.D.) was Lakṣmīdevīhaḷḷi in the Arasiyakere tāluka. This village had a *basadi* called Biduga *Jinālaya* to which belonged a Jaina nun called Paramabbe Kantiyar.[3]

Jambukhaṇḍi seems to have been also associated closely with the Jainas in the early part of the tenth century A.D. A Jaina priest called Āryadeva is called a Jambukhiṇḍi-gaṇasthāna in the Gokak copper-plate dated A.D. 923.[4]

At Hullēla, Malavaḷḷi tāluka, Noḷamayya having renounced wealth and every kind of attachment, expired according to the orthodox manner in about A.D. 950.[5]

Hoḷe Narasīpura was noted for its Jaina devotees. Inscriptions assigned to the middle of the tenth century A.D. contain some details pertaining to the places of Jaina influence in Hoḷe Narasīpura. In about A.D. 950 a citizen whose name is

1. *E. C.* X. C. 29, pp. 204-205. Was Śrīkunda an earlier name of the Nandi Hill, or was it in any way connected with Koṇḍakundācārya?

2. Rice, *E. C.* X. Intr. pp. 9-10.

3. *M. A. R. for 1911*, p. 28.

4. *K. H. R.* I., No. 2, pp. 43-44.

5. *M. A. R. for 1920*, p. 30.

effaced in the record but who was a Gorava, consecrated an image of Candranātha in the *basti* of that name at Būvinahaḷḷi, Huṇsūr tāluka. The Ankanātheśvara and Subrahmaṇya temples at Ankanāthapura in the same tāluka of Hoḷe Narasīpura, seem to have been once Jaina temples. This is shown by the fact that inscriptions commemorating the death of Jaina nuns are found around the temples. One of such devotees was Cāmakabbe, who is described as a supporter of the Jaina assembly (*Śramaṇa sangha*) and of the four *samayas*.[1]

Varuṇa in the Mysore tāluka at the close of the ninth century A.D. was a seat of a minor branch of the Western Cālukyas. It contained a large number of Jaina temples the ruins of which lie to the west of the village. Six mutilated images of Jaina deities have been found in that village.[2]

Maṇṇe in the Nelamangala tāluka and Ummattūr in the Chāmarājanagara tāluka once boasted of devoted Bhavyas in *circa* A.D. 1000. In the former place the Jaina nun Mārabbe Kantiyar, the disciple of Devendra Bhaṭṭāraka, and in the latter, prince Sindayya, the son of the chieftain of Sottiyūr, died in the orthodox manner about that date.[3]

An important Jaina settlement in the eleventh century A.D. was Kaḷasatavāḍu (mod. Kalasavāḍi), four miles to the south of Seringapatam. From two metallic images found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa we learn that they formed the property of the Tīrthada *basadi* at Kaḷasatavāḍu. Both the images were the gifts of two Jaina nuns (named) to the *basadi*. A cart-load of metallic images at the place corroborates the view that it was, indeed, a prosperous Jaina

1. *M. A. R. for 1913-14*, p. 31.
2. *Ibid for 1916*, pp. 26-27.
3. *Ibid for* 1917, p. 39.

settlement in the eleventh century A.D.[1]

In the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. we have Taḷatāḷa mentioned as an important Jaina locality, probably because of its association with the *guru* of the great Jaina general Ganga Rāja. An inscription found in the Kallubasti at Kaṇegrāma, Tīrthahaḷḷi tāluka, and assigned to about A.D. 1093 by Rice, relates the following—That Maladhārideva, who by the severity of his penance had his body covered with dust which was never removed, "being like iron a long time rusty, and having become like a white ant-hill," belonged to the Taḷatāḷa *basadi* which was attached to the Lokiyabbe *basadi*. It was at the Taḷatāḷa *basadi* on the date specified, that his disciple Śubhacandradeva died in the orthodox manner.[2]

1. *M. A. R. for 1913-4*, p. 35.

2. *E. C.* VIII Tl. 199, p. 207. We suppose the Śubhacandradeva mentioned here was the *guru* of General Ganga Rāja and the disciple of the celebrated Gaṇḍavimukta Maladhārideva. There was another teacher of the same name, who was the disciple of Maladhāri Rāmacandradeva. We presume that the record in question refers to Śubhacandra, the *guru* of Ganga Rāja, on the following considerations :—The praise given in the above Tīrthahaḷḷi record to Maladhārideva agrees with that given to him in a Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record which, among other things, says that the "dirt on Maladhārideva's body, which was overgrown with an ant-hill, looked as if it were a close-fitting armour of black iron that had not yet been doffed." It is this latter record from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa which tells us that Śubhacandra died in Śaka 1045 Śubhakṛt (A.D. 1123). (*E. C.* II. 117, p. 47). This date cannot be reconciled with the date of the Tīrthahaḷḷi inscription which gives merely the cyclic year Āngīrasa, and the details Puṣyamāsa, Bahuḷa saptami, Ādityavāra, for the death of Śubhacandra. (E. C. VIII. Tl. 199, text, p. 694). These details are insufficient to fix the date, but they may stand for A.D. 1092, Thursday (and not Sunday), Dec. the 23rd. Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.*, III. p. 187.

The well known Cāmuṇḍi Hill near Mysore was once a Jaina *tīrtha*. It was called Marbala *tīrtha* in A.D. 1127. The name Marbala or Mabbala seems to have been Sanskritized into Mahābaleśvara. Jaina epitaphs of the same age commemorate the death of Jaina devotees.[1]

In about A.D. 1131 Śāliyūr (mod. Sālūr), Shikārpur hobḷi, contained a temple called Brahma *Jinālaya* for which a merchant named Bhadrarāya Seṭṭi made a specified grant. His *guru* Kulacandra Paṇḍita belonged to the Meṣapāsaṇa *gaccha*. It is interesting to note that the above *Jinālaya* is said to have belonged to the immemorial *agrahāra* of the Thousand (Brahmans) of Śāliyūr.[2]

Kaidāḷa in Murugarenāḍ in A.D. 1151 was proud of its Jina temples among which may be mentioned the Bhīma *Jinālaya*. It was constructed by the generous Sāmanta Gūḷi Būca (or Bāci), the ruler of Maruganrenāḍ. We shall have to refer again to this worthy scion of Mānyakheḍapura. The Bhīma *Jinālaya*, we may note, was erected by him in the name of his wife Bhīmale, who was a devout Jaina. The god in the temple was called Cenna Pārśvadeva. Liberal endowments were made by him to the temple.[3]

Elambaḷḷi in the Sohrab tāluka owed its *Jinālaya* to the piety of Deki Seṭṭi, " a greater supporter of the Jina faith ". This *Jinālaya* was called the Śāntinātha *basadi*, for the gifts of food of which Deki Seṭṭi made specified gifts of land. His *guru* was the *Śāntināthaghaṭika-sthāna-maṇḍalācārya* Bhānukīrti Siddhānta, the disciple of Municandradeva of the Tintriṇīka *gaccha*.[4]

1. *M. A. R. for 1912*, p. 37.
2. *Ibid for 1930*, pp. 246-7.
3. *E. C.* XII. Tm. 9, p. 4.
4. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 384, p. 68. Cf. VII. Sk. 197, p. 125.

Niṭṭūru in the Gubbi tāluka also contained a *basadi* called the Śāntīśvara *basadi.* It is dated to about the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[1] Pious Bhavyas lived in Niṭṭūru, as is shown by the *niśidhi* stones commemorating their death.[2]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. Hiriya Mahāḷige possessed the Pañca *basadi,* which in about A.D. 1200 was repaired by a devout citizen. Along with the *nāḍ* people, he endowed it with three villages which had been originally given to it by a king (unnamed).[3]

The *Jinālaya* in Kuntalāpura in *circa* A.D. 1204 was likewise endowed with lands by the farmers and the Great Minister Hiriya Heḍeya Asavara Mārayya. This latter official conducted an enquiry, "defaced by force the stone *śāsana* which had been written", and then along with the *nāḍ* people gave a grant to the "excellent *ācārya*" of Kuntalāpura, Nemicandra Bhaṭṭāraka. The reason why the enquiry was conducted and why Sāvanta Mārayya forcibly removed the existing stone *śāsana* was probably because it was a forged document detrimental to the interests of the Jina temple and the *sangha* at Kuntalāpura.[4]

Jiḍḍuḷigenāḍ and Eḍenāḍ contained many Jinendra temples in about A.D. 1208. They were the outcome of the liberality of Nemi Seṭṭi of the Nunna *vaṁśa.* It was he who had caused the Śāntinātha *Jinālaya* to be built at Koḍanki, which, we may note by the way, is called in the record "a mine of the gems of learned men and beautiful women". Liberal endowments were made to this temple by Nemi Seṭṭi.[5]

1. *M. A. R. for 1919*, p. 11.
2. *Ibid for 1930*, p. 257.
3. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 227, p. 133. See also Sk. 232, *ibid* page.
4. *Ibid*, VII. Sh. 65, p. 26.
5. *Ibid*, VIII, Sb. 28, pp. 5-6.

Kottagere, Kūṇigal tāluka, contains now a ruined Jina temple. But an inscription on the pedestal of a Jina image lying there states that the image of Śāntinātha was caused to be made in about A.D. 1250 by Māghanandideva, the disciple of Haricandradeva, of Heragu, who belonged to the Mūla *sangha* and the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*.[1]

The god Prasanna Pārśva of the Brahma *Jinālaya* of Jōgamaṭṭige in Tailangere (in the Sīrā tāluka?) received in A.D. 1277 a gift of 2,000 arecanuts in a specified village from Kalli Śeṭṭi, the disciple of Bāḷendu Maladhārideva of the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*, as a permanent gift. This record tells us that the donee Cellapiḷḷe's father Dīpanāyaka belonged to the Jina Brahmans of Bhuvalokanāthapura in the Bhuvalokanāthaviṣaya of the Ponnara-mativiṣaya which lay to the north of the southern Madhura in the southern Pāṇḍyadesa. The interest of this record lies in the fact that a class of Jainas called Jina Brahmans lived in a part of the Tamil land. Dīpanāyaka is expressly stated in the record to have belonged to the Dyetreyaśākhā of the Yajurveda, Vāśiṣṭha *gotra*, and the Kauṇḍinya- Maitra-Varuṇa-Vāśiṣṭha *pravara*.[2]

Kalaśa in the Mūḍgere tāluka possessed a temple of Jineśvara in the same year A.D. 1277. And it also received specified gifts of rice from a citizen called Mādhava Śeṭṭi.[3]

The Gandha-guḍi of the Honnēyanahaḷḷi *basadi* in the Huṇsūr tāluka was constructed in A.D. 1303 by Padmanandi Bhaṭṭāraka, the disciple of Bāhubali Maladhārideva of Hanasōge.[4]

1. *M. A. R. for 1919*, p. 33.
2. *E. C.* XII. Si. 32, p. 93.
3. *Ibid.*, VI. Mg. 67, p. 72.
4. *Ibid*, IV. Hs, 14, p. 84.

By the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Jainism had travelled to the province of Tuḷuva, where in the centres of Varanga, Kervāśe, Nallūru, Mūḍubidre, and Bārakūru, it steadily rose into prominence till, as we shall relate in a later context, it gave once again strong impetus to the political events of the times. We have described the rise of Jainism in Tuḷuva in detail elsewhere.[1]

In various other localities like Jāvagaḷ, Maraṭi, Hañci, Śāligrāma, Tēkāḷ, Lakavaḷḷi, Eleyūr, Rāmapura, Kallahaḷḷi, Kummanahaḷḷi, Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa, and Hosahoḷalu,[2] abundant traces of Jaina influence and culture have been found, thereby adding to the overwhelming testimony of epigraphs and literature that throughout the great extent of Karnāṭaka Jainism continued for ages to be a great factor in the life of the people.

What was the contribution of Jainism to the history and culture of the three large provinces of Karnāṭaka, the Tamil land and the Āndhradeśa during these centuries of its widespread influence? An answer to this question would mean a separate dissertation on the subject. But in order to complete our narrative of the history of Jainism in the mediæval times, we may briefly allude to some salient facts which may enable us to form an adequate estimate of the great part played by this religion in the history of the country.

One of the best claims of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it contributed to the literature of all the three pro-

1. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I., pp. 404-415.

2. *M. A. R.* for 1911, pp. 3,6,19; *ibid for 1912*, pp. 16, 36; *ibid for 1913-4*, p. 7; *ibid for 1916*, p. 8; *ibid for 1917*, pp. 9, 44; *ibid for 1918*, p. 5; *ibid for 1925*, p. 93; *ibid for 1928*, pp. 87-8; *ibid for 1931*, p. 25; *ibid for 1933*, p. 13.

vinces mentioned above. The Jaina teachers as the intellectual custodians of the Āndhradeśa, the Tamil land, and Karnāṭaka most assiduously cultivated the vernaculars of the people, and wrote in them great works of abiding value to the country. Purism was the keynote of their compositions, although almost all the early Jaina writers were profound Sanskrit scholars. With them originated some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa. It has been rightly opined that the Jainas gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the *Kural* and *Nāladiyār*; major *kāvyas* like *Śilappadikāram*, *Maṇimekhalai*, and *Cintāmaṇi*; minor *kāvyas* like *Nīlakeśi*, *Perunkathai* (or *Bṛhadkathā*) *Nāgakumārakāvya*, *Cūḷāmaṇi*, and quite a number of other works as well.[1]

To the Āndhradeśa and Karnāṭaka, among other precious gifts, the Jainas gave the *campū kāvyas* or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose. When Nannaya, the author of the famous Telugu *Mahābhārata*, to stem the tide of the naturalized Kannaḍiga Pampa's *Bhārata*, which had won great celebrity in the Vengimaṇḍala, prepared a Telugu Brahman counterpart of the same story, he adopted the *campū* style which was the gift of the Jainas to Karnāṭaka.[2] An example of a Jaina scholar in the capital of the Telugu king in the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. is that of Ayyapārya, the author of the Sanskrit work called *Jainendra-kalyāṇābhyudaya.* He wrote his work in A.D. 1319 at Ekaśīlanagara (Warangal) in the reign of king Rudradeva. He was the disciple of Dharasenācārya, and was of the Kāśyapa *gotra*

1. Read Ramaswami, *Studies*, pp. 76-77, 81-104 ; Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 198.
2. Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103

and the Jainālapāka lineage.[1]

But neither in the Tamil nor in Telugu literature was the influence of the Jainas so profound and of such lasting value as in that of Karnāṭaka, where from the early centuries of the Christian era till the twelfth century A.D. they created literature and fostered it with unrivalled care and devotion. It is not our aim, however, to give in this section even a brief account of the galaxy of great Jaina literary men who adorned the courts of imperial and provincial rulers during the first twelve centuries of the Christian era. We shall restrict ourselves to the enumeration of a few outstanding names in order to complete the topic of the indebtedness of southern India to the Jainas in the literary field. The earliest names of the great Jainas who in some manner or other added to Kannaḍa literature were those of Samantabhadra, Kaviparameṣṭhi, and Pūjyapāda.[2] Omitting equally great names, we may pass on to Śrīvardhadeva *alias* Tembaḷūrācārya's celebrated work known as *Cūḍāmaṇi* or *Cūlāmaṇī* which, according to Bhaṭṭākalanka's *Karnāṭaka-śabdānuśasana,* was the finest work in Kannaḍa. The *Cūḍāmaṇī* contained 96,000 verses and was a commentary on the *Tattvārtha-mahāsūtra.*[3] The stone inscription which gives us a few details about Śrīvardhadeva, also tells us that just before him was Cintāmaṇī, whose work also bore the same name as himself.[4] It is curious that these two works-*Cūḍāmaṇī,* and *Cintāmāṇī*—should also be found in Tamil literature.[5]

1. *M. A. R. for 1913-4,* p. 57.
2. *Kavicarite,* I. pp. 1-7.
3. Rice, *My. & Coorg,* p. 198; *Kavicarite,* I, p. 8. n. (1)
4. *E. C.* II. 67, p. 26. *My. & Coorg,* p. 198.
5. Ramaswami, *Studies.,* pp. 94, 103, Rangacharya, *Top. List.,* I. p. 80. Rice cites the opinion of Caldwell that *Cintāmaṇī* is undoubtedly the greatest epic poem in Tamil, and the oldest Tamil composition of any length now extant. (Rice, *ibid,* p. 198).

Among the Jaina kings of Karnāṭaka who have left evidence of their literary works, we may mention the following—the Gaṇa kings Durvinīta and Śivamāra I. The former was the author of the prominent works in Sanskrit which we have already discussed in the previous pages. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Nṛpatunga in his well known work *Kavirājamārga* refers to king Durvinīta as a Kannaḍa poet.[1] King Śivamāra I was the author of the Kannaḍa *Gajaśāstra* or science of elephants.[2]

Unique is the name of Ādipampa, better known as Pampa, the author of *Ādipurāṇa* and *Bhārata* (or *Vikramārjuna-vijaya*) (A.D. 941). As the author of these two Kannaḍa masterpieces in the *campū* style, Pampa's services for the cause of Indian culture can hardly be over-estimated. Born in the Vengimaṇḍala, it was Pampa, as we have just now said, who was primarily responsible for Nannaya Bhaṭṭa's great work *Bhārata*. That a Telugu scholar, the son of a Telugu Brahman (Abhirāmadevarāya), who had espoused the cause of Jainism, and who was born in one of the *agrahāras* of Vengimaṇḍala, but who was the protégé of the Western Cālukyan ıuler Arikesari of Puligere, should have produced a Kannaḍa masterpiece which had won for itself unvarnished celebrity in the Āndhradeśa for about a century, was sufficient humiliation to the proud Āndhras, whose great poet Nannaya produced in about A.D. 1053 the Telugu counterpart of Pampa's magnificent work in Pampa's own style, at the instance of the Rajahmundry king Rājarāja Narendra.[3]

1. *Kavicarite*, I. p. 13.

2. *Ibid.* I, p. 17; Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 198.

3. Seshagiri Rao. *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 100-128. Nannaya's great work corresponds to Pampa's work only in regard to three *parvas*. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

Not only men but Jaina women, too, have added to Kannaḍa literature. The greatest name among them was Kanti who, along with Abhinava Pampa, was one of the gems that adorned the court of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa I (A.D. 1100-A.D. 1106). She was a redoubtable orator and a poet who completed the unfinished poems of Abhinava Pampa in the open court of that ruler.[1]

None among the Jaina authors has made himself so endearing to the Kannaḍigas as Āṇḍayya (*circa* A.D. 1235), whose exquisite *Kabbigarakāva* is a triumph of Jaina ideas of purism in Kannaḍa.[2]

Lest it may be supposed that Kannaḍa Jainas were given only to writing on purely literary matters, we shall give some examples of Jaina authors who have left useful works in other departments of thought. Indeed, there were few subjects of practical importance which the Jainas of Karnāṭaka did not tackle. In the field of grammar, mathematics, astrology, and medicine, we have valuable works written by them. Of Pūjyapāda's great work in grammar mention has already been made. Towards the middle of the twelfth century A.D. lived Nāgavarmā (II), who wrote the three well known works on Kannaḍa grammar—*Kāvyāvalokana, Karnāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa,* and *Vastukośa.*[3] In about A.D. 1260 appeared Keśirāja with his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* in Kannaḍa.[4] On mathematics we have Rājāditya's *Vyavahāragaṇita, Kṣetragaṇita, Lilāvatī. Vyavahāraratna, Citrahasuge, Jainagaṇitasūtraṭikodāharaṇa,* and other works.[5] As we narrated while dealing with the

1. Read *Kavicarite*, I. pp. 110-11 for details about her life.
2. *Ibid*, I, pp. 367-368.
3. *Ibid*, I. pp. 144-9.
4. *Ibid*, I. pp. 386-7.
5. *Ibid*, I. pp. 122-3.

history of the Western Cālukyan king Someśvara I, it was during his reign that Śridharācārya of Narigunda composed the first Kannaḍa work on astrology called *Jātakatilaka*. The reason why he composed it is given thus—That learned men told him that no one till that time had written a work in Kannaḍa on astrology, and that, therefore, he was to write it.[1]

Pūjyapāda, as we have already seen, had set an example in the field of medicine, although it must be admitted that there is no evidence to show that the work which he wrote was in Kannaḍa. Another Jaina writer, who also wrote on medicine, was Pūjyapāda's sister's son Nāgārjuna, a famous alchemist and Tantric scholar.[2] In the ninth century A.D. during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I, Nṛpatunga (A.D. 815-A.D. 877), Ugrāditya wrote *Kalyāṇakāraka*, a work on medicine that contains at the end a long discourse on the uselessness of flesh diet which the author, true to his Jaina feeling and conviction, is said to have delivered in the court of that Raṣṭrakūṭa king.[3] These writers may or may not have written their works in Kannaḍa. But Kīrtivarmā in about A.D. 1125 wrote in Kannaḍa *Go-vaidya*, a treatise dealing with the diseases of cattle. Jagaddala Sāmanta in *circa* A.D. 1150 wrote his *Karnāṭaka Kalyāṇakāraka* which was a Kannaḍa rendering of Pūjyapāda's *Kalyāṇakāraka*.[4]

The Jainas have influenced not only the literature but the culture of southern India as well. In five spheres of south Indian life have they left indelible marks which it may not

1. *Kavicarite* I, pp. 75-76 ; II, pp. 3-5 ; *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 59, *op. cit.*

2. *Kavicarite,* I. pp. 11-12. Was he the same as Nāgārjuna of the Buddhist tradition, or the second of that name?

3. *M. A. R. for 1922*, p. 23.

4. *Kavicarite,* I. p. 165 ; II. pp. 15-16.

be out of place to recount here. Prominent among these are those relating to the construction of temples, statues, and image worship. It has been surmised that the Śaivites of the Tamil land borrowed the custom of having a niche in their great temples for every one of the sixty-three Nāyanārs or Śaiva devotees, after the manner of the Jainas who worshipped their twenty-four Tīrthankaras in their *basadis*. This imitation of Jaina mode of worship seems to have come, especially after Appar and the great Tirujñānasambandhar, when a period of miracles and piety was inaugurated and the Tamil country was studded with temples.[1]

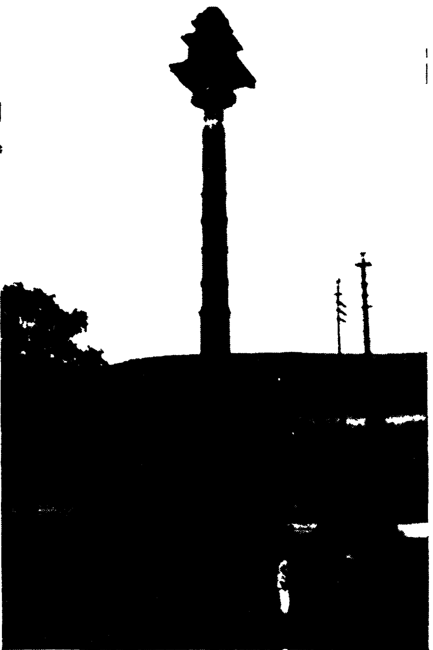
In Karnāṭaka, too, the Jainas were primarily responsible for the architectural greatness of the Kannaḍigas. It is not unlikely that the perfection to which the Hoysala architecture attained, especially in the matter of the construction of temples, has really to be traced to those early days of Jaina ascendency in Karnāṭaka, when the Jainas gave expression to their sense of expansion and permanence in their statues, temples, and pillars which contain in them so much of delicacy of detail coupled with depth of devotion, and simplicity of style with grandeur of vision.[2] Three huge monolithic colossi of Gommaṭa exist; one at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, as we have already seen above, the second at Kārkaḷa, and the third at Veṇūru, both in Tuḷuva. Of these the one at Kārkaḷa (41 feet 5 inches in height) was built in A.D. 1432 by Vīra Pāṇḍya, a ruler of that city, and that at Vēṇūru in A.D.

1. Ramaswami, *Studies*, pp. 77-78.

2. One of the most beautiful Hoysala temples is that of Hoysaleśvara in Haḷebīḍ. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 193. *The Annual Reports of the Mysore Archæological Survey* contain full details of most of the Hoysala temples.



By Courtesy V. G S.]
Gomateśvara at Kārkala (p. 268)



By Courtesy V. G S.]

1604 by another local chieftain called Timmarāja.[1] The exquisite Jaina temples and *mānasthambhas* are to be found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Mūḍubidre and Kārkaḷa.[2]

In another direction, too, the Jainas have added to the culture of the Hindus. The followers of the *syād vāda* doctrine were primarily the people who made it one of their cardinal principles to give the four gifts of food, protection, medicine, and learning to the needy (*āhāra-abhaya-bhaiṣajya-śāstra-dāna*). This must have been by far the most potent factor in the propagation of the Jina *dharma.* And it was to counteract the effect of these gifts that the Hindu religious leaders of the south opened their *maṭhas* or monasteries, *dharmaśālas* or alm-houses, and *pāṭhaśālas* or halls of learning.[3]

Another substantial contribution to the culture of the land by the Jainas is in regard to the cult of *ahiṁsā.* For the first time in the history of southern India, the Jainas showed how the highest moral principles could be made to serve the material ends of the State. Right conduct meant for them not only adherence to the principles of *ahiṁsā* and the other tenets of their faith, but also steadfastness in their duty to their king, who was the embodiment of their country's honour. The history of the many Jaina generals and ministers, which we have outlined above, amply proves this statement. The respect for the life of living beings which the Jainas showed in their daily lives is said to have influenced the Hindus of the

1. See below. Rice (*My. & Coorg,* pp. 140-141) gives the name of the ruler as Pāṇḍya and the date A D. 1603. Both details are incorrect.

2. For further details, see below Chapter XII.

3. Ramaswami, *Studies,* p. 78. Benoy Kumar Sarkar classifies these four gifts under the term "positivism of the Jainas." Read Sarkar, *Creative India from Mohenjo Daro to the Age of Rāmakṛṣṇa-Vivekānanda,* pp. 41-44. (Lahore, 1937).

south who, stopping animal sacrifices in their Vedic ceremonies and rites, promulgated the cult of *ahiṁsā* in their literature.[1]

The principle of *ahiṁsā* was partly responsible for the greatest contribution of the Jainas to Hindu culture—that relating to toleration. Whatever may be said concerning the rigidity with which they maintained their religious tenets, and the tenacity and skill with which they met and defeated their opponents in religious disputations, yet it cannot be denied that the Jainas fostered the principle of toleration more sincerely and at the same time more successfully than any other community in India. In fact, as we shall presently see, it is this feature of toleration which is the connecting link in the history of pre-Vijayanagara and Vijayanagara Jainism. And nothing is more regrettable than that in the matter of showing tolerance to the followers of their rival creeds, especially to the Jainas, the Hindus of southern India should have been so ungenerous as to have had recourse to a method of retaliation and revenge which was so alien to the proverbially hospitable nature of the Hindus.

In order to elucidate this statement we have to review briefly the condition of Jainism in the age immediately preceding the rise of Vijayanagara. Three general causes brought about the decline of Jainism in southern India before the founders of Vijayanagara rose to power. In the first place, the long intervals that elapsed between the periods of Jaina revival were to a large extent responsible for the gradual downfall of Jainism. After Koṇḍakundācārya (the first century A.D.) came Samantabhadra (the second century A.D.) who, as related above, was the great promoter of the Jina faith. The next stage in the Jaina revival is reached

1. Ramaswami, *Studies.*, pp. 76-77

about the middle of the seventh century A.D. under Śāntisena.[1] The fourth stage is seen with Gopanandi (A.D. 1094), who caused a revival of the Jina *dharma*.[2] In the twelfth century (A.D. 1123) it is said that the doctrine of Jinendra which shone formerly through Maladhārideva, again shone now with the greatness of Candrakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka.[3] And, as will be pointed out anon, it will be only in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. that the next wave of Jaina revival will be seen. Between these periods of revival there was a wide gap during which the cause of Jainism suffered considerable hardships at the hands of rival religious creeds.

Closely allied to the above was the fact that the Jainas failed to produce successively leaders who could so associate religion with politics as to bring both to the forefront simultaneously. It is not too much to suppose that had Jainism produced another Simhanandi, especially in the eighth and ninth century A.D. when it was beset with insurmountable difficulties, the course of political events in southern, especially in western, India would have been changed. The great leaders whom Jainism gave to the country were mostly buried in their theological works; and their indifference to the material changes that took place around them, and particularly those relating to the rise of rival religious sects, was not a little responsible for the steady decline of Jainism as a powerful element in the religious and political history of the land.

Finally, the Hindu revival in southern and western India was the greatest blow to the *anekāntamata*. We shall deal with this point presently.

1. *E. C.* II, p. 7 op. cit.
2. *Ibid*, V. Cn. 148, op. cit.
3. *Ibid*, II, 117, p. 46.

The different provinces of the Āndhradeśa, Karnāṭaka, and the Tamil land, however, had their own specific causes which contributed to the decline of Jainism. Of these we may dispense with those relating to the Telugu land where Jainism was never so deeply rooted as in the south, and especially in Karnāṭaka. However, we may observe that the continued support which the Eastern Cālukyas always gave Jainism, especially at Bezwada, was promptly counterbalanced by the Paricchedi-Paśupati rulers of that same city, who were the avowed followers of the Hindu *dharma*. These and the Kota kings of Dhānyakaṭaka and the Kākatīyas of Warangal, as Seshagiri Rao has so well shown, were responsible for the disappearance of Jainism from the Āndhradeśa. The worst time the Jainas had in the Telugu land was in the reign of king Gaṇapatideva, the Kākatīya ruler of Warangal (A.D. 1199- A.D. 1260), when, as a result of the defeat in a religious disputation at the hands of Tikkana Somayya, the author of the Telugu *Mahābhārata,* the Jainas lost all their prestige and power.[1]

The evil days on which Jainism fell in the Tamil land were due to the appearance of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints long before the local rulers had driven it into the background in the Āndhradeśa. The Śaiva Nāyanārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs had recourse to six methods, which they seem to have borrowed from the Jainas themselves, to subvert the religion of the latter in the Tamil land. Firstly, the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas counteracted the universal effect of the most potent

1. Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-29. If it is true that Tikkana was the minister of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Madhurāntaka Pottapi Coḷa Tilakanārāyaṇa Manuma Reḍḍi, as Seshagiri Rao asserts, then he may be placed in about A.D. 1243. For a record dated Ś. 1165 mentions a gift by a citizen in the reign of that Nellore feudatory. Rangacharya, *Top List*, II. p. 1143.

weapon of the Jainas as expressed in their well known gifts—*āhāra-abhaya-bhaiṣajya-śāstra-dāna,* by adopting the same policy to meet their own ends. This is proved by the stories of the Śaiva saints Iḷeyāṇḍakuḍimāranāyanār, Mūkhanāyanār, and very many others.[1] Secondly, the Śaiva saints discarded caste system, in imitation of the Jainas, and recruited into their fold people of the lower social grades. This accounts for the inclusion of the fisherman saint Atibhaktanāyanār in the list of the sixty-three saints.[2] Thirdly, the Śaiva saints aimed at the highest altruistic principles, also in imitation of the Jainas.[3] Fourthly, the Śaiva saints composed hymns in honour of the local deities, and especially of Śiva, obviously after the manner of the Jainas, who worshipped their Tīrthankaras in their *basadis.* Fifthly, the Śaiva saints instituted the hierarchy of sixty-three saints exactly as the Jainas had done with their sixty-three personages called *Triṣaṣṭi-Śalāka-puruṣuas.*[4] And, finally, the Śaivas secured the political patronage of the State by winning over the good grace of kings, precisely as the Jainas had done in the early periods of their history.

And in this campaign of exterminating the Jainas the leading part was taken by Piḷḷe Nāyanār, better known by his name Tirujñānasambandhar Mūrti Nāyanār. A few details in connection with this celebrated figure are essential for fixing chronologically the downfall of the Jainas in the Tamil country. These details are gathered mostly from the well known *Periyapurāṇam* or the *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇa,* composed

1. Dr. Shama Sastry was the first to draw attention to this. *M.A.R. for 1925,* p. 10.

2. *Ibid,* p. 9, 10.

3. *Ibid,* p. 11.

4. *Ibid,* p. 6.

by Sēikkilār in A.D. 1150 in the reign of king Anapāya Coḷa (Kulottunga Coḷa Deva II).[1] Piḷḷe Nāyanār was a Brahman born in Śiyāḷi in the Tanjore district. Of his many contemporaries we may mention Kūn Pāṇḍya, the king of Madura; Jinasena, a great Jaina teacher; Vādībhasimha, a celebrated Jaina scholar who disputed with Piḷḷe Nāyanār on the merits of Śaivism; and Vāgīśa, also called Appar or Dharmasena. Of these we have to eliminate the last named Nāyanār, since his name does not help us to fix the date of Tirujñānasambandhar.

It must be confessed at the outset that in spite of our eliminating Appar, there are considerable difficulties centring round the date of Tirujñānasambandhar. While some maintain that this latter great Śaiva saint is to be placed in the seventh century A.D., others would assign him to a later age. The former view is based on the contemporaneity of Sambandhar with Siruttoṇḍa Parañjoti, the Brahman commander of the Pallava king Narasimhavarmā I, and, secondly, on that of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumārān.

The advocates of this view argue thus: From Sambandhar's hymns it is learnt that he was a great friend of Siruttoṇḍa.[2] Siruttoṇḍa or Dabhrabhakta was the general who was present at the conquest of Vātāpi or Bādāmi, the Western Cālukyan capital, by the Pallava king Narasimhavarmā

1. Rice assigned the composition of this great work to the eleventh century A.D. *E. C.* IV. Intr. p. 34. See also *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 259; *S. I. I.*, II, p. 153. But Rangacharya has pointed out that Sēkkilār should be assigned to the age of king Kulottunga Coḷa Deva II. *Top. List*, II p. 1349. See also Ramaswami, *Studies*, p. 61 where it is rightly said that Sēkkilār composed the work in A.D. 1150.

2. Ramaswami, *ibid*, pp. 65; *S. I. I*; II. p. 172; Rangacharya, *ibid*, II. p. 1323; *Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1913*, p. 87.

I.[1] Since the burning of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarmā I (A.D. 630-A.D. 668) has been assigned to A.D. 642 by some scholars,[2] it is surmised that that is also the age in which Tirujñānasambandhar lived.

The above conclusion seems to receive support when we take into account a few facts about the Pāṇḍya king whom the great Śaiva saint converted from Jainism into Śaivism. All Śaiva accounts agree that this conversion, indeed, took place. The king who was converted, however, is given the following names—Ninrasīr Neḍumārān, Māravarman, "the Great Māran who fought the battle of Nelvēli and won lasting fame in it", as the *Periyapurāṇa* puts it, Kubja Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya, or Kūn Pāṇḍya.[3] Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer identified "the Great Māran" with Arikesari, the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang. Both he and Mr. Ramaswami Ayyangar would, therefore, place Tirujñānasambandhar in the seventh century A.D.[4]

This, however, does not solve the difficulty. On the other hand, it makes the question more complicated. If the identification of Neḍumāran with the victor of the battle of Nelvēli, *i.e.*, with Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman, whom the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates make the victor of the same battle,[5]

1. *Periyapurāṇa*, p. 452 (Madras, 1923); Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Sketches*, p. 39; Heras, *Studies in Pallav History*, p. 38; S. K. Ayyangar, *Beginnings of S. Indian History*, p. 183.

2. Ramaswami, *ibid*, p. 65: Dubreuil *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 70, where the date of the Pallava king is given. Dr. Shama Sastry places him about A.D. 634. *M.A.R. for 1925*, p. 11.

3. Ramaswami, *Studies*, pp. 62-63; Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Sketches*, p. 40; S. K. Ayyangar, *Beginnings*, pp. 277-278; *M.A.R. for 1925*, p. 11, K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyas of Madura*, p. 53.

4. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *ibid*, pp. 122-3, 126-7; Ramaswami, *Studies*, pp. 65-66.

5. Subrahmanya Aiyer, *ibid*, p. 123.

is accepted, then, we cannot assign either Arikesari Māṛavarman or his supposed contemporary Jñānasambandhar, to the seventh century A.D. at all.

The following reasons will make our statement clear. Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman, according to the combined genealogy of the bigger Śinnmanūr and the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates as given by Venkayya,[1] was the father of Śaḍaiyan Koccaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra. We have elsewhere shown that the age of the latter Pāṇḍya ruler can be fixed only after studying the Ālupa-Pāṇḍya relations; that Śaḍaiyan Raṇadhīra lived in A.D. 794—A.D. 800; and that his father Arikesari Asamasaman Māıavarman has to be assigned to A.D. 783.[2] That is to say, the victor of the battle of Nelvēli should be assigned to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. And if his identification with Kūn Pāṇḍya of Madura is accepted, then, it follows that his contemporary Tirujñānasambandhar is likewise to be assigned to the latter part of the eighth century A.D.

We may verify this conclusion of ours by noting the date of another contemporary of Tirujñānasambadhar—Jinasena. Basing his remarks on Karnāṭaka Cakravarti's statement in the latter's work entitled *Triṣaṣṭipurātanacarite,* Dr. Shama Sastry identified Jinasena mentioned by Cakravarti with Jinasena, the author of *Bṛhadharivaṁśapurāṇa.* Now the date of the latter work as given by Jinasena is Śaka 705 (A.D. 782).[3] Hence if we accept the unanimous Śaivite tradition

1. Venkayya, *Ep. Rep. S. Circle,* for 1908, p. 66.

2. Saletore, *Ancient Karnātaka,* I. pp. 214-219, 223. The name Arikesari Parānkuśa Māravarman given by me should be corrected as Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman. *A. K., I,* pp. 215, 217, 219.

3. *M. A. R. for 1925,* p. 12. On Jinasena, read Kamta Prasad Jain, *I. H. Q.,* V, pp. 547-48.

that Jinasena was the contemporary of Sambandhar, we can place the latter only in A.D. 783 which is the date we arrived at for another contemporary of Sambandhar, "the great Māran who had won the battle of Nelvēli", *i.e.*, Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman. Therefore, Tirujñānasambandhar and Kūn Pāṇḍya *alias* Arikesari Asamasaman Māravarman are to be placed in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[1]

But this not only goes against the orthodox Tamil opinion in regard to the antiquity of Tirujñānasambandhar, but also violates the date we have given to Vajranandi, the organizer of the Drāviḍa *sangha*. For if Tirujñānasambandhar lived in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D., then, it cannot be that Vajranandi established the Drāviḍa *sangha* in the latter half of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century A.D. No Drāviḍa *sangha* could possibly have been established at Madura *after* the signal success which Tirujñānasambandhar had won over the Jainas in that city.

The date given to Vajranandi can hardly be altered without disturbing the chronological facts centring round it ; but the date assigned to Tirujñānasambandhar can be shifted, as it would then fit in with the activities of the Jainas who were his contemporaries. For, as shown by Dr. Shama Sastry, a celebrated Jaina teacher called Vādībhasimha is said to have disputed with Sambandhar on the merits of Śaivism.[2] We have seen that the only famous Vādībhasimha

1. This is also the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Shama Sastry, who placed Sambandhar in the latter half of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. He supports it by discovering the date of another contemporary of the great Śaiva saint, Haradattācārya, *viz.* A.D. 877. (*M. A. R. for 1925*, pp. 12-13).
2. *M. A. R. ibid*, p. 8.

known to Jaina history was Ajitasena, who was the contemporary of Vādirāja, Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, and the Western Cālukyan ruler Someśvara I. We have assigned Vādībhasimha Ajitasena to the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. If Vādībhasimha of the *Tiruttoṇḍar* tradition is identical with Ajitasena Vādībhasimha, then, the great Śaiva contemporary of that Jaina teacher, Tirujñānasambandhar, has to be assigned also to the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. This would mean that Tirujñānasambandhar lived one century after Vajranandi; and that it was during the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. that Jainism in the Tamil land received its death-blow at the hands of the great Tamil saint.[1]

Whether this is acceptable to orthodox Tamil opinion or not, it seems certain that, while Tirujñānasambandhar was actively engaged in wiping out Jainism from Madura, Tirunāvukkarasar, or Vāgīśa, or Dharmasena, or more popularly known as Appar, another renowned contemporary of Tirujñānasambandhar, was busy uprooting the *anekāntamata* in the Pallava kingdom; and the Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumangai Āḻvar sang terrible invectives against it in Alināḍu in the

1. It is said that the *Tēvāram* (or *Dēvāram*) hymns contain many details of the Jaina ascetics on the eight hills surrounding Madura, such as Ānamali, Paśumalai, etc, (Ramaswami, *Studies.*, p. 68). It is precisely here at Ānamali, etc, in the district of Madura and its neighbourhood that, as related above, stone inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters have been found dealing with the Jaina sages and their disciples. These inscriptions while confirming the existence of the Jainas in Madura in the tenth and eleventh century A.D., incidentally prove that the *Tēvāram* itself was written in that age.

north-eastern part of the Coḷa country.[1] The great Nāyanārs and the Āḷvars have left behind them, however, in their hymns evidence of their utter contempt for Jainism.[2] But what is surprising is not that contemporary Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints should have pictured darkly the Jainas in their religious works, but that the traditionally generous Hindu mind should have portrayed in a series of frescoes on the walls of the Golden Lily Tank of the well known Mīnākṣī temple at Madura, the darker and sadder side of the struggle between the vanquished Jaina leaders and the exultant Hindu reformers of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Here on the walls of the same temple are found paintings depicting the persecution and impaling of the Jainas at the instance of Tirujñānasambandhar. And what is still more unfortunate is that even now the whole tragedy is gone through at five of the twelve annual festivals at that famous Madura temple ![3]

Such vengeance did not characterize the reappearance of Hindu reformers in Karnāṭaka. Here the downfall of Jainism was brought about by four important factors which were peculiar to Karnāṭaka. In the first place, the political downfall of the royal patrons who had for centuries fostered

1. Ramaswami, *ibid*, pp. 62-67, 71. Ramaswami says that Appar converted the Pallava king Mahendravarmā II, the son of Narasimhavarmā I, from Jainism. (*Ibid*, p. 66). But this is extremely doubtful, since we are not sure that Mahendravarma II ever ruled at all. For in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates which give the genealogy of the Pallava rulers (*Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1911*, p. 61), he is not mentioned. Even if he did, his reign was very short (Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 70 ; Subrahmanya Aiyer, *Sketches*, p. 42.)

2. Read Ramaswami, *ibid*, pp. 61, see, 67-70 ; Subrahmanya Aiyer, *ibid*, p. 38, n. (3)

3. Ramaswami, *ibid*, p. 79.

the cause of Jainism was a great blow to that religion. With the simultaneous collapse of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Ganga kingdoms towards the end of the tenth century A.D.[1], Jainism received a shock from the effects of which it never recovered. Secondly, the indifference of the Jaina leaders to the revivals of Hinduism, especially to that form called Vīra Śaivism, was detrimental to the interests of the Jaina faith. The work of reviving this particular form of Śaivism fell to the lot of the great Basava, who rekindled in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. the Śaivācāra or Jangama faith which was a revolt against Brahmanism.[2] Jainism failed to produce teachers who could understand the full import of this new religious revival the champions of which did for Karnāṭaka what the Nāyanārs had done for the Tamil land.

This profoundly affected the life of the *anekāntamata*, as is evident from the next cause relating to the conversion of the feudatory families from Jainism into Vīra Śaivism. Basava's violent methods of winning a prominent place for the Śaivācāra,[3] were less successful than the peaceful policy adopted by his successors, who converted the Śāntaras, the Cangāḷvas, the Bhairava Oḍeyars of Kārkaḷa, the kings of Coorg, and other rulers of the minor states from Jainism into Vīra Śaivism.[4]

How these royal personages and feudatories were converted into Vīra Śaivism is best illustrated by the account of the famous Vīra Śaiva teacher Ekānta Rāmayya about whom Keśirāja Camūpa relates thus in a stone record dated about A.D. 1195 :—

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 72.
2. *Ibid*, p. 206.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 79-80.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 139 ; 206-207 ; *E. C.* IX Intr. p. 20.

A fervent disciple of Śiva, Ekānta Rāmayya after visiting all Śaivite holy places, came to Puligere. Here he was inspired by the local deity (god) Somanātha to wage a crusade against Jainism. Rāmayya, therefore, went to Abbalūr, a stronghold of Jainism. On the Jainas maintaining the superiority of the *anekāntamata* over Śaivism, Rāmayya challenged them by saying that, as a proof of the superiority of his own creed, he would cut off his own head but with the aid of Śiva regain life. The Jainas on hearing this promised to embrace Śaivism, if he succeeded in carrying out his wager. And they wrote on an *ōle* (palmyra leaf) to that effect. Forthwith Rāmayya had his head cut off, and given as an offering to Śiva. In seven days' time Rāmayya regained his head. He then routed the Jainas, and broke their images, at which they complained to the king Bijjala (A.D. 1156-A.D. 1167). The king sent for Rāmayya who showed him the written promise of the Jainas, and who once again challenged that, if they demolished their seven hundred *basadis*, he would again perform the same feat he had once done, and (in seven days' time) regain life. The Jainas were afraid to take up the challenge. But king Bijjala gave Rāmayya a *Jayapatra* (certificate of victory) granting along with it certain specified villages to Rāmayya's deity Somanātha of Puligere. The fame of Rāmayya then spread to the Cālukyan court, and king Someśvara IV (A.D. 1182—A.D. 1189) likewise granted the village of Abbalūr to the same deity. Likewise the Kādamba king Kāmadeva (A.D. 1181-A.D.1203) granted the village of Mallavaḷḷi to the same god.[1]

1. *E. I.*, V. p. 245; *Kavicarite*, I. pp. 297-298. See also Ramaswami, *Studies*, pp. 114-115; Moraes, *Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 252-254.

And the fourth cause which hastened the decline of Jainism was conversion of the trading classes called the Vīra Baṇajigas from Jainism into Vīra Śaivism. This was a stroke of diplomatic skill which told at once on the life of the *anekāntamata* in Karnāṭaka. The Vīra Baṇajigas had been for ages the most powerful and wealthy section of the middle classes in Karnāṭaka. Their devotion and riches had enabled the Jainas to add to the architectural beauty of Karnāṭaka, and to maintain the prestige and splendour of Jainism in the land. When the followers of Basava weaned the trading classes from the *anekāntamata,*[1] the mainstay of Jainism in Karnāṭaka disappeared, and it fell back on the other sections of the people who could never extend to it the assurance born of wealth which the Vīra Baṇajigas alone could give.

1. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 206.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIJAYANAGARA'S PLEDGE

Jainism and Hindu *dharma*—A sketch of the history of toleration in Karnāṭaka—Vijayanagara makes history by deciding great cases in A.D. 1363 & 1368 -Political significance of the royal decision of 1368—Examples to prove the permanent effects of the royal decree of 1368 from cases throughout the history of the Vijayanagara Empire.

IN the year of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1346) Jainism stood baffled but not beaten. It had been steadily driven from the premier place it had occupied in the Tamil and Telugu land, and even in Karnāṭaka, and compelled to occupy a secondary position, especially in the last province, from which it apparently seemed that it had no means of escape. The age in which the Vijayanagara Empire was established was the most critical in the history of the country.[1] It was also a perilous time for the followers of the *syād vāda* doctrine. For without leaders who could grasp the situation in the country as a Simhanandi had done in the early days, Jainism was likewise without a message for the people who were now faced with problems infinitely more complex and more difficult than any which the Gangas and the other early rulers had to

1. Read Saletore, *Social & Political Life*, I, pp. 1-22.

solve. It was during such a period in its history that Vijayanagara stepped forth as the protector of Jainism, and enabled it to continue its useful existence for centuries to come.

In early times, as the reader must have gathered from the foregoing pages, it was Jainism that had more than once recreated political life and thereby made it possible for the Hindu *dharma* to consolidate its position. Now in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., it was the turn of the Hindu *dharma*, first, to regain its own vitality, and, then, to repay the debt it owed to Jainism by coming to its succour. And the champions of the Hindu *dharma*, as the monarchs of Vijayanagara undoubtedly were, did this by laying down a policy of toleration which was unparalleled in the history of the land. The introduction of such a policy, however, was not an innovation of the rulers of Vijayanagara. To the Hindu monarchs of the south, especially of Karnāṭaka, toleration was a vital principle and not a matter of political expediency. It was their most precious gift to humanity. The early monarchs of Karnāṭaka as well of the Tamil land had bequeathed to the rulers of Vijayanagara a noble tradition.[1] We have ample instances to show how the Gangas, the Western Cālukyas, and the other kings of Karnāṭaka and of the Tamil land, notwithstanding their Hindu propensities, gave munificent grants to Jaina institutions, and treated the Jainas and the Brahmans in an impartial manner. The Jaina leaders themselves reciprocated this in an admirable way. The great name that is met with in this connection is that of Cāmuṇḍa

1. The intolerance shown to the Jainas in the days of Tirujñānasambandhar was an exception. The Tamil kings, especially in the Śangham age, were noted for their liberal views. Ramaswami, *Studies*, p. 46.

Rāya. When in A.D. 1048 he granted specified land to the Jaina sages in charge of the Jajāhuti Śāntinātha *basadi* in Beḷḷigāme, as narrated already in an earlier context, he ordered that in the Banavasenāḍ the Jaina habitation, Viṣṇu habitation, Īśvara habitation, and a habitation for the *muni gaṇas* should be constructed. And this the sculptor Nāgavarmā caused to be made.[1]

Like him there were Hindu noblemen, too, who made no distinction between the votaries of the two faiths. Bammarasa, the viceroy of the Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 province, granted in A.D. 1109 to the *Jinālaya* and to the god Sarppeśvara certain money dues and other gifts, impartially.[2]

Few citizens could rival those of Baḷḷigāme for an enlightened outlook on religious creeds. Hospitable to strangers, of one speech, prudent, devoted to *dharma,* and honour, the citizens of that famous centre were famous as worshippers of Hari, Hara, Pankajāsana (Brahmā), Jina, and other gods. The record dated A.D. 1129 which contains this information, tells us that they built in that city the temples of Hari, Hara, Kamalākṣa, Vītarāga, and Buddha.[3]

An instance of a chieftain who made no distinction between his own and other faiths is that of Viṣṇuvardhana, who belonged to the Mitra *kula* and Aḍala *vaṁśa.* In about A.D. 1140 he constructed Śiva temples and *Jinālayas* within his jurisdiction.[4]

The Jainas showed how they could suit themselves to the changing circumstances of the times by inserting in a purely Jaina inscription (dated A.D. 1151) the following

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 120, p. 91, op. cit.
2. *Ibid,* XI. Dg. 12, p. 27
3. *Ibid,* VII, Sk. 100, p. 69.
4. *Ibid,* IX, Nl. 84, pp. 48-49.

addressed to non-Jaina deities :—" Victorious, though without words, are the sayings uttered by the Tīrthankaras. Obeisance to the universal spirit of Jina, who is Śiva, Dhātri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu." The grant to which this unusually liberal mode of obeisance was prefixed was made by that generous feudatory of Marugarenād, Sāmanta Bāci Rāja, who has already been referred to in this treatise. This nobleman constructed not only *Jinālayas* but temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva as well. It is not surprising that such a liberal person should have been styled as the " promoter of the *dharma* of the four *samayas*."[1]

This catholic attitude on the part of the feudatories had the most salutary effect on other nobles. Hoysala Goidi Seṭṭi, " worshipper of the feet of Jinendra ", was the *nāḍ-prabhu* of Mandali 1,000. In about A.D. 1180 while in the company of his sons Balla Gauḍa and Boppa Gauḍa, he heard the recital of Śiva *dharma*, and at once granted specified land for the worship of the Siddheśvara of Mandali.[2]

Sāmanta Gova, whose benefactions we have already described, is said to have been the supporter of the four *samayas*—Māheśvara, Bauddha, Vaiṣṇava, and Arhat. This is related in records dated A.D. 1160, 1180, 1181, and 1187.[3]

The uncommonly cordial relations which prevailed between the Brahmans and the Jainas are shown by a record dated A.D. 1204 which informs us that all the Brahmans of the five *agraharas of* Nāgarakhaṇḍa, along with the officials placed over the district, heads of the merchant guilds, and representatives of the citizens and cultivators (all named), joined together and made specified grants for the worship

1. *E. C.* XII. Tm. 9, p. 3 ; *My. & Coorg*, p. 203.
2. *Ibid*, VII. Sh. 40, p. 18.
3. *Ibid*, XII. Ck. 13, 14, 20, 21, pp. 74-77.

of god Śāntinātha of Bandaṇike.[1]

Beṭṭarasa Daṇṇāyaka seems to have been impelled by a similar motive when in A.D. 1249 he deposited specified gold, and made grants of land in the presence of all the Brahmans, heads of the merchant guilds, and citizens, in order to meet the expenses of worship in the five *maṭhas* (named), the two *basadis,* and all the temples of Balāri.[2]

Thus we find that till the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., every section of the people in Karnāṭaka had given sufficient evidence of its benevolent attitude towards the Jainas. That even those who had espoused the cause of Vīra Śaivism should have been liberal towards the Jainas, shows how deep toleration had taken root in the country. From the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. for one hundred years onwards, however, the question of extending patronage to religious creeds of one denomination or the other paled into insignificance before the greater question of defending the country's honour against the invading Muhammadans.[3]

When once the southward march of the relentless enemy was stopped, and the kingdom of Vijayanagara established (A.D. 1346), its monarchs found time to deal equitably with religious and cultural problems of the day. It was during the reign of king Harihara Rāya in A.D. 1363—only seventeen years after the unfurling of the Vijayanagara banner at the great capital on the banks of the Tungabhadrā—that a civil case arose which showed that the destiny of the Jainas was safe in the hands of the new monarchs. Vīrūpākṣa Oḍeyar, the son of the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya, was the viceroy over the Malerājya. He had

1. *E. C.* VII. Sk. 225, p. 133.
2. *Ibid*, VI. Cm. 20, p. 37.
3. Saletore, *Social & Political Life.*, I. p. 4 seq.

a difficult issue to decide. It was in regard to the boundaries of the land that belonged to the ancient Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Taḍatāla in Heddūrnāḍ. The temple *ācārayas* supported by the people of the Heddūrnāḍ disputed with the Jaina *sūris* in regard to the land in question. The State ordered an enquiry to be held in the Arāga *cāvaḍi* (*i.e.*, the public hall of Āraga, the capital of the Malerāja province. The *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgaṇṇa and various *arasus* (noblemen, all of whom are named)together with the leaders of the Jainas called Mallappa, summoned the elders of the three cities and the Eighteen Kampaṇas of Āraga ; and having made the *nāḍ* people agree, they fixed the boundaries of the land (specified) according to former custom as those of the temple endowment of Pārśvanātha. This decision was forthwith engraved on stone by the orders of the elders and the noblemen assembled there.[1]

Five years later (A.D. 1368) a very great question presented itself before the Vijayanagara monarch Bukka Rāya I. The stone inscription dated A.D. 1368 relates that a dispute arose between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (called in this record the Bhaktas). And the Jainas of all the *nāḍus* (districts) including Ānegondi, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penugoṇḍa, and the city of Kalleha (the last named district being in the modern Māgaḍi tāluka), petitioned to the king Bukka Rāya about the injustice done to them by the Bhaktas (*Bhaktaru māḍuva annyāyanga-ḷanu binnaham māḍalāgi*). The monarch (evidently after due enquiry) "taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hands of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus*, (in the presence of) including all the *ācāryas* of the places, the chief of which are Kōvil (*i.e.*, Śrīrangam), Tirumale (*i.e.*, Tirupati), Perumāḷ-Kōvil (*i.e.*, Kañci) and Tirunārāyaṇakōṭe

1. *E. C.* VIII. Tl. 197, pp. 206-207.

(*i.e.*, Mēlkōṭe), all the *sātvikas, moṣṭikas,* those of the holy service, of the holy feet and of the holy water; the forty-eight people; the Sāvanta-bovas and the Tirukula (*i.e.*, Holeyas) and Jāmbavakula (*i.e.*, Mādigas)—and declaring (at the same time) that there was no difference between the Vaiṣṇava *darśana* (or faith) and the Jaina *darśana,* decreed as follows—

"'This Jaina *darśana* is, as before, entitled to the *pañcamahāśabda* (the five great musical instruments) and the *kalaśa* (or vase). If loss or advancement should be caused to the Jaina *darśana* through the Bhaktas, the Vaiṣṇavas will kindly deem it as loss or advancement caused to their own (*darśana*). The Śrīvaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a *śāsana* in all the *bastis* of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and moon endure, the Vaiṣṇava creed will continue to protect the Jaina *darśana.* The Vaiṣṇavas and the Jainas are one (body); they must not be viewed different. Tātayya of Tirumale, by consent of the blessed people (the Jainas) of the whole kingdom, will, out of the money levied at the rate of one *haṇa* for every house according to the door from the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom, for the bodyguard to be appointed by the Vaiṣṇavas at the holy place of Belgoḷa, appoint twenty servants as a body-guard for the god, and with the remainder of the money have the dilapidated *Jinālayas* whitewashed. In this manner, for as long as the sun and moon last, they will without failure pay every year and acquire fame and merit. He who transgresses this rule shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the *sangha,* and the *samudāya.*'"

The epigraph after holding out a curse to those who intended to destroy this piece of charity, concludes thus—Busuvi Śeṭṭi, the good son of Harvi Śeṭṭi of Kalleha (*i.e.*,

mod. Kalya, where the record was found) having made petition to the king Bukka Rāya, sent for Tātayya of Tirumale, and had the *śāsana* renovated. And both (the Jaina and the Vaiṣṇava) *samayas* uniting bestowed the dignity of *sangha-nāyaka* on Basuvi Śeṭṭi.[1]

An analysis of this Great Charter which king Bukka Rāya gave to the Jainas of the Empire reveals the following :—

1. That in the year of the construction of the great city of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1368)[2] the Jainas were distributed throughout the Vijayanagara kingdom, but that those at Ānegundi (the parent city of the Empire), Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penugoṇḍa and Kalleha were the most prominent ;

2. That certain rights and privileges of these Bhavyas in that year or before had been questioned by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus* ;

3. That the dispute was of such great importance that it was referred, not to the local provincial authority, or to the heads of both the religious communities, but directly to the Vijayanagara king himself ;

4 That the king gave an equitable judgment in favour of the Jainas (evidently after due consultation), and in the presence of all the leaders of both the communities and even of those of the lower sections of the society like the Tirukula[3] and the Mādigas ;

5. That this judgment was accepted without a murmur by the entire people ;

6. That copies of this momentous decision were inscribed

1. *E. C.* II. 334, pp. 146-147 ; IX. Ma. 18, pp. 53-54.

2. It is wrong to maintain that the city of Vijayanagara existed before A.D. 1368 when its construction was begun. Read Saletore *S. P. Life*. I. pp. 83-105.

3. Tirukula, Śrikula, in modern parlance Harijan.

on stone not only at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa but also at Kalleha, and "in all the *bastis* of the kingdom", by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas themselves, at the royal bidding; and

7. That, finally, to the generous Jaina merchant Busuvi Seṭṭi, who was instrumental in publishing a copy of the royal decree at Kalleha, both the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas jointly conferred the title of *sangha-nāyaka* (Champion of the Creeds).

History knows no more exemplary and equitable decision in religious dispute than the above which king Bukka Rāya gave to the Jainas in A.D. 1368. Bukka Rāya was a plain monarch, but the judgment which he gave was learned; he was not committed to any religious creed, but by his equity he had saved a religion from persecution; he was reckoned to be the Defender of the Hindu *dharma*, but he had now become Protector of the Jina faith; he had given a decision in favour of a minority community; but it was not by violating the fundamental rights of the larger sections of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The wisdom of the monarch is seen not only in the fact that he ordered the representatives of both the parties but of all sections of the people to assemble before him before he arrived at his decision. Further, the onus of appointing the bodyguard of twenty servants for the god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa rested on the Śrīvaiṣṇavas themselves, whose revered leader Tātayya of Tirumale was charged with a specific duty which he could perform only with the co-operation of the Bhavyas themselves! Thus did the able monarch Bukka Rāya lay down a great principle for his successors to follow.

What was the political significance of this celebrated judgment? In order to answer this we must recount the event of A.D. 1363 narrated above. The Taḍatāla Pārśvadeva *basti* boundary dispute must have clearly shown to the Vija-

yanagara monarch in which quarter the danger lay. Any false step in the direction of maintaining the prestige of one community at the expense of another would have precipitated matters to a crisis in the very commencement of the political career of the sons of Sangama involving thereby the ruin of their cherished ambition. King Bukka Rāya adopted, therefore, an admirable plan. By a royal decree he appointed twenty bodyguards for the god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and, at the same time, ordered the renovation of all the dilapidated Jina temples in the kingdom. He had honoured the famous god at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and thereby the Jaina religion. Jainism was saved, and its prestige guaranteed in the Vijayanagara Empire. By restoring to the Jainas their ancient privileges king Bukka Rāya removed a source of discontent in a community which, although politically shorn of its ancient power, yet could have turned itself into a seditious section, especially in the precarious period of the fourteenth century A.D. That it did not do so but continued to remain perfectly loyal throughout the Vijayanagara age is in itself sufficient testimony of king Bukka Rāya's far-sighted political wisdom. The Jainas could never forget the service which this monarch had done for their faith ; and it is pleasing to note that only fifteen years after that famous judgment, there should appear the remarkable Jaina general Irugappa whose history we shall describe to some extent presently.

A few instances will show that the magnificent example thus set by king Bukka Rāya had a permanent effect on the wide outlook of the people of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus, for instance, an inscription of about A.D. 1397 recounting the martial deeds of a famous colleague of General Irugappa, by name Guṇḍa Daṇḍanātha, begins in this unique manner after praising the temple of the god Keśava at Bēlur—

He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedāntins as Brahmā, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas skilled in proof as Karttā, the followers of Jina *śāsana* as Arhat, Mīmāmsakas as Karma ; that God Keśava ever grant your desires ![1] Evidently the people of Karnāṭaka looked upon all the different religious creeds in the same impartial and sympathetic manner as king Bukka Rāya had done in A.D. 1368.

Nothing proves better the cosmopolitan outlook of the people of Vijayanagara and the abiding effect which king Bukka Rāya's laudable example had on them, than the Jōḍi-Kempaṇapura (Chāmarājanagara tāluka) inscription, assigned to A.D. 1400, which deals with a great Vīra Śaiva scholar named Ekānta Basaveśvara. He was the descendant of that famous Ekānta Rāmayya who has already been described in this treatise. One of the *birudas* of Ekānta Basaveśvara was that he was " an able refuter of the *anekāntamata.*" But such was the good feeling between the Vīra Śaivas and the Jainas in the Vijayanagara Empire that one of the imprecatory sentences at the end of the above grant says that those who violated it were traitors even to the Jaina religion ![2]

Indeed, the opening lines of another inscription dated A.D. 1411 reveals the large-heartedness of the people of Vijayanagara. For this record says thus :—Be it well with the subjects : may kings protect the earth in the ways of justice ! May fortune ever be to cows and Brahmans ! May all the world be happy ! "[3] Other inscriptions may also be cited in this connection. The record dated A.D. 1472 relating to the *Jinālayas* in Iḍugaṇi, about which we shall mention some

1. *E. C.* V. Bl. 3, p. 43.
2. *M. A. R. for 1917*, p. 61.
3. *E. C.* XI. *Cd.* 14, p. 5.

details, opens with obeisance to Pārīśva-Tīrtheśvara, praise of the Jina *śāsana,* obeisance to the *pañcaparameṣṭis,* and to Śambhu—all in the same breath ![1]

In the sixteenth century A.D., too, we have the same generous sentiments expressed in epigraphs. The record dated A.D. 1530, for instance, is a fine specimen of the spirit of the times. It begins in the following manner :—" Having the supreme profound *syād vāda* as a fruit-bearing token, may it prevail, the doctrine of the Lord of the three worlds, the Jina doctrine ! Obeisance to Ādi Varāha ! May he grant prosperity, in whose tight embrace the Earth ever rejoices ! Obeisance to Śambhu, his lofty head kissed by the *cāmara*-like crescent moon, the original foundation pillar of the city of the three worlds ! "[2] Then, again, in A.D. 1598 obeisance to Vītarāga is followed by the praise of the Jina *śāsana* and of Śambhu.[3]

It was said above that the admirable decision of the king Bukka Rāya had a lasting effect on the people of Vijayanagara. The truth of this statement is borne out by the following epigraph dated A.D. 1638 in which we have an excellent account of the harmonious feelings between the Vīra śaivas and the Jainas. This record which begins with the praise of the Jina doctrine ends with the praise of Śiva ! It falls within the reign of Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belūr, and may be taken to typify the state of affairs in the last days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The question was a very grave one. Huccappa Deva, a Vīra Śaiva, had stamped a *linga* on the pillars of the Vijaya Pārśva *basadi* of Haḷeyabīḍu (*i.e.*, evidently Haḷebīḍu, the famous capital of the Hoysalas); and

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sa. 60, p. 103.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, Kp. 47, p 84.
3. *Ibid.*, Kp. 50, p. 86.

Vijayappa, a Jaina, had erased that *linga* stamp. On this Padmaṇṇa Śeṭṭi, the son of Devappa Śeṭṭi of Hāsana, and all the other Jainas of the Belūr kingdom, petitioned to the leaders of the Vīra Śaivas, by name Basavadeva of Haḷebīḍu, Paṭṭadadeva of Puṣpagiri, and the other leaders of the Devapṛthvimahā-mahattu of the Deśabhāga. The plaintiff was not an ordinary Jaina merchant. He was a worshipper at the lotus feet of Arhat Parameśvara, sun in the sky of the *syād vāda* creed, delighter in the gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning, repairer of ruined Jina temples, purified by the Jaina consecrated water, and adorned with rectitude and many other virtues. On receiving the petition from this worthy and influential Jaina leader of Hāsana, the Mahā-mahattu of Haḷebīḍu and of the Deśabhāga assembled together, and after due deliberation, made an ordinance (*kaṭṭu māḍisida vivara*) thus : " Having (first) caused *vibhūti* (ashes) and *viḷya* (betel leaf) to be offered (these being the Vīra Śaiva modes of salutation), you (the Jainas) may perform the worship, decorations, illuminations, ablutions, and other Jaina ceremonies of this Vijaya Pārśvanātha (*basadi* of Haḷebīḍu) according to former custom, as long as sun and moon endure ".

But the sanction of the State had to be received for legalizing the ordinance thus passed by the general assembly of the Vīra Śaiva elders. Hence they approached the chief minister Kṛṣṇappayya, who is highly praised as a learned man and an able minister, and as the rod in the right hand of the ruler Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belūr. And they requested him to give effect to their united decision. The chief minister " taking this work of merit in hand ", and in conformity with the immemorial Karnāṭaka custom of inscribing a meritorious work on behalf of the State, had the work dedicated " for the prosperity of the Empire of Venkaṭādri Nāyakayya

of Belūr ", and caused it to be observed in future. And, then, the Mahā-mahattu had this stone *śāsana* duly written and presented to the leaders of the Jainas.

The benevolent Vīra Śaivas were not content with this formal method of giving the Jainas a charter of good will. All future injustice to the Jainas, especially on the part of the Vīra Śaivas themselves, had to be guarded against. And hence the following clause was inserted at the end of the *śāsana,* thereby showing that the Vīra Śaivas could be models of equity in matters of religious disputes. " Whoso opposes this Jina *dharma* is excommunicated from the feet of his Mahā-mahattu, is a traitor to Śiva, and the Jangamas, unfaithful to the *vibhūti-rudrākṣa,* and to the *linga* at the holy places of Kāśī and Rāmeśvara." And so that none might question the validity of this important decision, the leaders of the Vīra Śaivas appended their signatures to the grant with a good wish that the Jaina religion might prosper—" The approval (or signature) of the Mahā-mahattu. May it increase, the Jina *śāsana* ! "[1]

The importance of this record lies in the fact that it affirms the legal method prevalent in the early days of the Vijayanagara Empire when, as we saw while describing the Taḍatāḷa Pārśvanātha *basadi* land dispute, the rulers had already set in the following precedent :—That all questions, especially those pertaining to the privileges and beliefs of communities, should be settled in the presence, and with the approval, of the leaders of both the parties, and the sanction of the State obtained at the end. And so far as the Jainas are concerned, the settlement of A.D. 1638 proves beyond doubt that the assurance given to them by king Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1368 had come to stay, not

1. *E. C.* V, Bl. 128, pp. 84-86.

merely in the circles of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas but also in those of the Vīra Śaivas. The little principality of Belūr (Velāpuri), over which king Venkaṭādri ruled in A.D. 1638, had come into existence in the days of Era Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, the Haḍapa (or betel-pouch bearer) of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great of Vijayanagara.[1] And it is especially gratifying to observe that the Vijayanagara example of justice should have been copied by one of its feudatories, and maintained with equity even in an age when the once-powerful Vijayanagara authority was on the decline and the fortunes of the great mediæval House eclipsed by political calamities. We may appreciate this better when we remember that Velāpuri, only six years after the above judgment by the Mahā-mahattu had been given, became the seat of king Ranga Rāya (III), the last of the noteworthy Vijayanagara monarchs, with the aid of one of his powerful vassal Śivappa Nāyaka of Beḍnūr.[2]

1. *E. C.* V, Intr., p. 33.

2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 122. On the harmonious relations that existed among the other communities—the Brahmans, the Sthānikas, the Pañcālas, the Seṭṭis, etc., in the Vijayanagara age, read Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, II., pp. 355-356, 358

CHAPTER IX.

STATE AID TO JAINISM

Vijayanagara monarchs Defenders of All Faiths—Their attitude towards Jainism explained—Work by Queen Bhīmā Devī—King Deva Rāya I—King Deva Rāya II—Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya—Position of Jainism in the capital—Work of General Irugappa—Examples of nobles who helped the cause of Jainism.

THE sincerity of purpose which generally lay behind the actions of the Hindu monarchs of Vijayanagara is seen not only in the assurance which they publicly gave to the religious bodies, but also in the honest attempts which they made to promote the material interests of religions which they did not profess. These Champions of the Hindu *dharma* were truly Defenders of all Faiths. The fact that the kingdom of Vijayanagara had come into existence solely to save the Hindu religion and culture from destruction,[1] did not prevent the monarchs of Vijayanagara from giving their whole-hearted help to non-Hindu religions. On the other hand, it was their proud boast—and we may at once observe that this was not unjustifiable at all— that they were the Champions of the *sakalavarṇāśrama* of the people. We have elsewhere sufficiently shown how faithfully they carried out this promise of theirs to protect the *dharma* of all the sections of the people.[2]

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1. Read Saletore, *S. P. Life*, I. p. 13, seq ; 245.
2. *Ibid.*, II. p. 24 seq.

And in regard to Jainism their attitude was by no means different. It is evident that the noble example of king Bukka Rāya I exercised a great influence on his successors. Hence we find that kings and queens and members of the royal family gave unstinted patronage to the cause of the *anekānta-mata* in the Empire. And it is interesting to note in this connection that the impulse to support the cause of the Jina *dharma* came from the queens of Vijayanagara, one of whom was a Jaina herself. This was Bhīmā Devī, who was the queen of Deva Rāya I. Her spiritual *guru* was Paṇḍitācārya; and in about A.D. 1410 she caused an image of Śāntināthasvāmi to be made in the Mangāyi *basadi* at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[1] This temple, we may note by the way, had been built in about A.D. 1325, by Mangāyi of Belgoḷa, "a crest jewel of royal dancing girls", and a lay disciple of Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍita, of the same place.[2] But about the identity of Paṇḍitācārya, however, no details are forthcoming.[3]

Queen Bhīmā Devī may have been responsible for the generous attitude of king Deva Rāya I towards the Jaina *gurus*. Evidence from two inscriptions definitely points to the high favour in which that monarch held the Jina faith and its champions. The Padmāvatī *basti* inscription of Humcca cited elsewhere in this treatise, contains the statement that Dharmabhūṣaṇa *guru*, the chief disciple of Vardhamāna *muni*, and a great orator, was served by *munis* and *rājas*. Dharmabhūṣaṇa "had his two feet illumined by the crown of the *rājādhirāja parameśvara*, the king Deva Rāya."[4] From the

1. *E. C.* II., Intr. p. 29; 337, p. 144.
2. *Ibid.*, 33*a*, p. 145.
3. There is an Abhinava Paṇḍitācārya mentioned in circa A.D. 1311. Ibid, 495, pp. 133-4.
4. *Ibid.*, VIII. Nr. 46, p. 148.

royal titles given to the ruler in this record, it is clear that the reference is only to king Deva Rāya I of Vijayanagara. But about the identity of Dharmabhūṣaṇa, we have no definite data.[1] However, we may fix his date by determining the date of his *guru* Vardhamāna whom we have assigned to the year A.D. 1378, on the basis of the facts mentioned in the same Padmāvatī record and discussed by us elsewhere.[2] If we allot twenty-five years to Vardhamāna, we arrive at A.D. 1403 which may be the date of Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II). This falls within the reign of king Bukka Rāya II, the father of king Deva Rāya I. And there is nothing unusual in Dharmabhūṣana's having won special respect from king Deva Rāya I. What seems certain is that the Vijayanagara ruler showed his great concern about the famous centre of the Jainas—Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Hence about A.D. 1420 he ordered the gift of the village Beḷame in Mepināḍ for a *vṛtti* for the worship of Gummaṭasvāmi of Belgoḷa. And the great minister Baica Daṇṇāya-

1. There were two Dharmabhūṣaṇas in the Jaina spiritual lists. A damaged record of A.D. 1372 tells us that Śubhakīrtideva's disciple was Dharmabhūṣaṇa (I) whose disciple was Amarakīrti whose disciple was Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II) whose praise (?) seems to be recorded. Vardhamāna Svāmi caused an epitaph to be made in that year. (*E. C.* II, 274, p. 125). Another record found at Humcca gives the following fact—that Amarakīrti's beloved disciple was Dharmabhūṣana Bhaṭṭāraka. (*M. A. R.* for 1934, p. 176). Dr. Krishna assigned this record to the age of king Deva Rāya I, and placed Dharmabhūṣaṇa in the fifteenth century. The two records of Belgoḷa and Humcca, therefore, agree in making Dharmabhūṣaṇa (II) the disciple of Amarakīrti, while the Padmāvati basti record clearly says that Dharmabhūṣaṇa was the chief disciple (*maukhamukhya*) of Vardhamāna. This discrepancy cannot be solved for the present.

2. Saletore, *Karnāṭaka Hist. Rev.* IV. pp. 77-86.

ka carried out at once the royal behest.[1] Obviously in imitation of his noble father, Prince Harihara, as we shall narrate in a latter context, gave munificent gifts to the *basadi* at Kanakagiri.

The next monarch who continued the tradition of the early Vijayanagara rulers of bestowing patronage on the Jaina institutions was king Deva Rāya II (AD. 1419— A.D. 1446). In A.D. 1424 he made over the village of Varanga in Tuḷuva to the *basadi* of Varanga Neminātha of the same place.[2]

Of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great it may truly be said that he made no distinction between the different faiths in his Empire. His large-hearted benevolence was primarily responsible for the gifts he made to the Jaina temples in two distant provinces of his Empire. He gave gifts of two villages to the *basadi* of Trailokyanātha at Tirupparuttikuṇru, Conjeeveram tāluka, Chingleput district, once in the cyclic year Dhātri (corresponding to the Śaka year 1438= A.D. 1516), and then again in Śaka 1440 (A.D. 1519).[3] In A.D. 1528 the same monarch gave a gift to the *basadi* at Cippagiri, Alūru tāluka, Bellary district, and had the endowment recorded on the walls of the smaller Venkaṭaramaṇa temple of that place.[4]

Before we proceed to describe the efforts made by the nobles and generals of Vijayanagara to help the cause of the *anekāntamata* in the great city of Vijayanagara and outside,

1. *E. C.*, V. Mj. 58, p. 273.
2. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities.*, C. P. No. 89; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, II., p. 875.
3. *188 of 1901*; *45 of 1890*; Rangacharya, *ibid*, I. p. 375; Swamikannu, *Ind. Ephem.* V. pp. 234, 240.
4. *Bellary Gazetteer*, I. p. 210; Rangacharya, *ibid*, I, p. 258; Seshagiri Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

we may explain the position of that religion in the famous capital itself. Here it is necessary to observe that the accounts of foreign travellers do not enlighten us on this question at all.[1] But we have to depend upon the numerous epigraphs which contain, as usual, valuable details concerning Jainism in the city of Vijayanagara. The initiative of aiding the Jina faith was taken by the Vijayanagara generals and the royal ladies of the court. It was here in the capital that the Jaina General Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka built a *basadi* which we shall mention at once. The queens of Vijayanagara were not slow in bestowing their patronage on these Jaina institutions in the capital. An inscription in that city tells us that Bukkavve, the queen of Vīra Harihara Rāya (*i.e.*, Harihara Rāya II) gave a gift to the *basadi* built by General Irugappa, in the cyclic year Īśvara. This cyclic year corresponds to the Śaka year 1319 (A.D. 1397)[2]

Among the monarchs Deva Rāya II stands high in the estimation of the Jainas for having built a *basadi* in the capital itself. An inscription in a ruined *basadi* in that city dated Śaka 1348 Parābhava (A.D. 1426) records the building of a *caityālaya* to Pārśvanātha at the orders of that monarch in the Pānsupāri street of the capital.[3] King Deva Rāya II's act of benevolence needs comment. He gave concrete expression to the feeling of reciprocal goodwill which king Bukka Rāya had so admirably shown in A.D. 1368. To the Jainas

1. Read Saletore, *S. P. Life*, II. p. 27 seq.

2. *501 of 1907*; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I, p. 313; Swamikannu, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 396.

3. *32 of 1889*; *S. I. I.* I, 153, pp. 160-167; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, I. p. 312; Ramaswami, *Studies*, p. 118. It is wrong to say that king Deva Rāya I. built this temple (V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII, p. 259.).

his action gave one more proof that the Vijayanagara monarchs were more than ever sincere to promote the cause of the Jina *dharma*. Unlike the measures he had taken on behalf of his Muhammadan subjects, for whose sake he had ordered a copy of the Quran to be placed by the side of his throne,[1] this step in connection with the Jainas had no political significance, since the latter never assumed at any time, either in the reign of that monarch or in that of his predecessors, such proportions as to threaten the internal stability of the Empire. We may, therefore, assume that the construction of the Pārśvanātha *basadi* in the capital was obviously meant to satisfy the religious need of the time, and especially to demonstrate once again the validity of one of the *birudas* borne by the Emperors of Vijayanagara, *viz.*, that they were the Protectors of *sakalavarṇāśrama dharma.*

In addition to these Jina temples we have a ruined *basadi* in the capital to the south of Hampe. Unfortunately the record which was found here is damaged and no details can be made out of it.[2] The fact that the Sanskrit portions of two fragments of a sculptured piece of black granite discovered in the north-west of the famous Mahānavami Dibba in the capital, refer thrice to the death of a Jaina *guru* named Maladhārideva,[3] suggests that there must have been another *Jinālaya* near that well known platform about which, too, unfortunately no details are known. As to the identity of Maladhārideva, we have likewise no clue.

In the history of Jainism in the great capital much credit is to be given to General Irugappa, the most prominent Jaina general of the age. From an inscription dated A.D. 1422

1. Saletore, *S. P. Life.*, I. p. 439.
2. *42 of 1889.*
3. *545 of 1893.*

found at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, we gather many details about the parentage of this *Daṇḍanāyaka.* He belonged to a line of loyal State servants. His grandfather was Baica Daṇḍeśa, the *Mahāpradhāna* of king Bukka Rāya. Of uncommon liberality, forbearance, and learning, Baica Daṇḍeśa was noted for his policy which was "worthy to be approved by all." He had three sons—the eldest General Mangappa, "who was honoured in the world for his virtues", General Irugappa, and Bukkaṇṇa. General Mangappa was a devout Jaina. The record calls him "a supporting tree to (the creeper) *dharma*", and "an adherent of the *Jaināgama*". By his wife Jānakī he had two sons—General Baicappa and General Irugappa. The latter is the subject of our remarks.

The same inscription bestows much praise on General Irugappa. About his martial disposition, it says that "when on the march of the General prince Irugappa, the rays of the sun were obstructed by the clouds of dust raised by the fierce blows of the hoofs of his charging mares, the lotuses the hands of his enemies closed (*i.e.* in submission)." As regards his general character, the same epigraph narrates the following—"As soon as General Irugendra was born on earth, his friend though devoid of wealth, was supplied with abundant wealth, and his enemy, though possessed of wealth, was deprived of it." Then, again, "Abundance of food, protection from danger, medicine, and learning became his daily gifts ; injury to others, falsehood, passion for the wives of others, theft and greed kept away at a distance from him." He was a devout Jaina. "His liberality (was directed) towards the path of *dharma*, his ears towards listening to the fame of Jinendra ; his tongue towards praising His virtues ; his bodily health towards bowing to Him ; his nose towards the excessive fragrance of His lotus feet ; and his everything

to His service."[1] Shorn of the metaphors, the above description of General Irugappa enables us to conclude that he was dutiful to his ruler, generous to the worthy, considerate to the needy, and devout to Jina.

We have now to see whether the praise thus given to him was in any way justifiable. General Irugappa appears for the first time in A.D. 1382 when he made a gift of land to the ancient Trailokyanātha *basadi* at Tirupparuttikuṇru in the Chingleput district. This was during the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. The gift was made, we may observe, for the merit of Prince Bukka Rāya, in the cyclic year Dundubhi corresponding to Śaka 1304 (A.D. 1382).[2] We are to suppose from this that General Irugappa first saw State service under Prince Bukka, the future Bukka Rāya, and the son of king Harihara Rāya II, in the Chingleput district. Our assumption is proved by another record dated only in the cyclic year Prabhava and found in the same *basadi*, in which it is said that the *maṇṭapa* in front of the same *basadi* was built by General Irugappa at the instance of his *guru* Puṣpasena[3]. The cyclic year Prabhava corresponds to Śaka 1309, and we have, therefore, to suppose that General Irugappa's official connection with the south lasted till A.D. 1387.

While the Jaina general was thus adding to the prosperity of a Jaina institution which, since the days of the famous Coḷa monarch Rāja Rāja, had received patronage at the hands of the southern rulers,[4] certain domestic events neces-

1. *E. C.* II, 253, pp. 106-108.
2. *41 of 1890*; *S. I. I.* I., p. 156; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I., p. 375; Swamikannu *op. cit.* V. p. 366.
3. *42 of 1880*; *E. I.* VII. p. 116; Rangacharya, *ibid*, I p. 375; Swamikannu, *op. cit.*, IV. p. 376.
4. *17 of 1889*; *S. I. I.* I., 152, pp. 155-160. Sewell commits an error when he makes Irugappa the son of Baicayya. *Historical*

sitated General Irugappa's presence at the capital where we find him now as the Minister of king Harihara Rāya II. It is enough to note that here in the capital he built the *caityālaya* of Kuṇṭhu (or Kuṇḍu) Jinanātha which was completed on February the 16th A.D. 1386. This is the temple which is wrongly called nowadays the Gāṇigitti temple! The Jaina teacher Simhanandi mentioned in this inscription was perhaps the same Simhanandi Ācārya whose name appears in a record assigned to A.D. 1400 at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[1]

There was another side to the remarkable Jaina statesman. Irugappa was an engineer as well. In A.D. 1394 he built the sluice of the tank at Kūṇigal. The inscription found on the same sluice gives us the interesting information that he was a Sanskrit scholar, too, and that he wrote the Sanskrit work called *Nānārtharatnākara*.[2]

This versatile statesman was the minister of king Harihara Rāya II in A.D. 1403.[3] But he continued to serve also in the reign of king Deva Rāya II.[4] The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscription dated A.D. 1422 cited above informs us that in that year General Irugappa, in the presence of the Jaina *guru* Śrutamuni, granted the village of Belguḷa (Belgoḷa itself) for the worship of Gummaṭeśvara.[5] Our surmise

Inscriptions of Southern India, p. 203 (Ed. by S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, 1932). This work is incomplete, for it has not taken into account a number of inscriptions pertaining to the history of Vijayanagara and early times.

1. *E. C.* II. 276, p. 125.
2. *M. A. R. for 1919*, pp. 13, 33; *E. C.* II. p. Intr. p. 64; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I. p. 311.
3. *E. C.* XII. Si 95, p. 101.
4. *Ibid*, II. Intr. p. 64.
5. *Ibid*, II. 253, op. cit.

that General Irugappa served under king Deva Rāya II is further proved by a stone inscription of A.D. 1442 in which that Jaina Commander is described to be the viceroy of Gove (Goa) along with Candragutti. This damaged record mentions an attack on Banavasi by Mallalegade Bamma Gauḍa, and the success that attended the arms of the loyal citizens.[1]

Thus we find that General Irugappa's record as a trusted general, a clever engineer, and a successful viceroy lasted over a period of fifty-nine years (A.D. 1383-A.D. 1442). No Jaina statesman, it may not be too much to say, in the history of southern India had such a long period of approved State service to his credit as General Irugappa.

His elder brother General Baicappa was also a devout Jaina. The Śravaṇa Belgoḷa record dated A.D. 1422 calls him *Bhavyāgraṇi* (Leader of the Bhavyas). And along with his younger brother he was reckoned to be "a purifier of the path of the *dharma*" (*pavitrīkṛta-dharma-mārggan*).[2] In about A.D. 1420 Baica Daṇṇāyaka was the *Mahāpradhāna* of king Deva Rāya II. It was while he was working in this capacity that he carried out the royal order and provided a *vṛtti* for the worship of Gummaṭasvāmi of Belgoḷa, granting the village of Beḷame, as already related above.[3]

Some of General Irugappa's colleagues were also Jainas. Thus we have in about A.D. 1400 the Brahman Kūci Rāja, who was the disciple of Candrakīritideva. This Jaina has already figured in our description of Kopaṇa.[4]

1. *E. C.* II., VI. Sb. 498, p. 82.
2. *Ibid.* II. 253, p. 108, text, p. 110.
3. *Ibid.* V. Mj. 58, op. cit.
4. *Ibid*, IV. Ch. 151, 152, op. cit.

Another well known Jaina official of the age of General Irugappa was the *Mahāpradhāna* Gopa Camūpa, who was placed in charge of the famous hill-fortress of Niḍugal. He is described as "a full moon in raising the tide of the ocean of the Jaina *sangha* (*Jainendra-samayāmbudhi-vardhana pūrṇa-candra*) in an undated and incomplete record, thereby suggesting that he materially added to the cause of Jainism. Rice doubtfully assigned this record to A.D. 1410,[1] obviously on the assumption that he is mentioned as ruling the great Niḍugal hill-fortress during the reign of king Deva Rāya I.

We have some interesting details about this military officer. These are gathered from a stone inscription dated A.D. 1408. He belonged to a line of benevolent Jainas. His father was called Siriyaṇṇa Śrīpati, the lord of Bāndhavapura, and a disciple of Śāntīśvara. And Sriyaṇṇa's father was Gopa *Mahāprabhu*, the governor of Kuppaṭūr. Gopa shone as purified by the Jina *dharma*, his blameless career like steps to paradise. We shall have to see in some detail about the well known city of Bāndhavapura in the Vijayanagara times. Gopa Camūpa, the subject of our discussion, was a Gauḍa; and his *guru* was Siddhāntācārya of the Mūla *sangha* and Deśiya *gaṇa*. This inscription relates that by the instruction in Jinendra *dharma* of his *guru* Siddhāntadeva, accompanied by numerous lucid comments, Gopaṇṇa became a good servant of the faith. He constructed a *Jinālaya* in Kuppaṭūr which he richly endowed.

The Malenāḍ *Mahāprabhu* Gopaṇṇa had two wives named Gopāyi and Padmāyi, who in devotion to Jina *dharma* were equal to their husband. The moment came for Gopa *Mahāprabhu* to show to the world his worth as a true Jaina.

1. *E. C.* XI. Hr. 28, pp. 107-108.

After having enjoyed the society of his wives for many days, he abandoned family pleasures To the Brahmans he gave gifts of gold, cows, grain, and the like. He discarded the pleasures of the mind and the palate, repeated the praises and prayers of the Jina *dharma*, and taking the hand of *mokṣa Lakṣmī* with great joy went to heaven (on the date specified in detail), amidst the plaudits of all the good. But his wives were not a whit behind him in their devotion to the Jina *dharma*. Seeing that, they made at once all gifts to Brahmans, with pure mind reverence to the lotus feet of Siddhāntācārya, and thinking of the great Vītarāga, went to heaven.[1]

Now this record is dated A.D. 1408 ; and it cannot be that Gopa *Mahāprabhu* was the commandant of the Niḍugal fortress in A.D. 1410, as suggested by Rice. Hence we have to suppose that Gopa *Mahāprabhu* was placed over that hill-fortress prior to A.D. 1408.

Gopa *Mahāprabhu* seems to have been a great patriot. This alone explains why the scribe who mentions his death, eulogizes the land of Karnāṭaka as a country that was distinguished in many ways and in beauty beyond description.[2]

We may mention two more names of high officials of this age in order to complete the account of men of action of early Vijayanagara history. One is that of Masanahaḷḷi Kampaṇa Gauḍa, the great lord of Bayināḍ. He was the disciple of Paṇḍitadeva. In A.D. 1424 he granted the village of Tōṭahaḷḷi situated in his own Bayināḍ for the worship of Gummaṭanāthasvāmi of Belgoḷa.[3] The other example is that of Vallabharājadeva Mahā-arasu, the grandson of the

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 261, pp. 41-42.
2. See motto at the beginning of this work.
3. *E. C.* IV. Hg. 1, p. 65.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrīpati Rāja, and the son Rājayya-deva Mahā-arasu. The solicitude which the Vijayanagara officials felt for Jainism even in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. is seen in the inscription relating to that high official. When Cinnavara Govinda Śeṭṭi, the son of Gutti Haradare Śeṭṭi, petitioned in A.D. 1579 to Vallabha-rājadeva that the *mānya* lands of the god of Heggara ***basadi*** should be maintained, "in order to comply with his petition", Vallabharāja granted specific lands in Heggare for the god Jina of that locality in the Būdihāḷsīme.[1]

1. *E. C.* IV, XII. Ci. 22, p. 78.

CHAPTER X.

JAINISM AT THE PROVINCIAL COURTS

Causes which made Jainism prominent at the provincial courts—The Cangāḷvas and their work —The Sangītapura rulers and their ministers— An enemy of Jainism—Examples of noble ladies who were patrons of Jainism.

WE may now turn our attention to the condition of Jainism in the various provincial seats of the Vijayanagara Empire. Much of the splendour of Jainism which had characterized its advent and spread in the royal capitals in earlier times, now in the Vijayanagara age is to be seen in the capitals of the provincial viceroys rather than in the great city of Vijayanagara itself. This phenomenon was due to the following causes. Firstly, the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire was no more a mere centre of royal strength, as the early Karnāṭaka capitals had been, but the bulwark of the entire people of southern India—Hindu as well as Jaina—against the attacks of the enemies of their *dharma*. The nature of the capital, therefore, had changed. While it certainly welcomed all sects and creeds with equal generosity, it could not think of devoting its attention to the cause of any one religion in particular. For political necessity had eclipsed religious needs ; and the Emperors of Vijayanagara let all faiths in their great capital follow their own way, while they themselves were busy guarding the frontiers of their Empire against the ever watch-

ful enemy in the north. To Jainism which for ages had been accustomed to complete royal acquiescence, this attitude on the part of the Emperors of Vijayanagara was not particularly encouraging. Hence Jainism gradually allowed its hold on the great capital to slip, and wisely had recourse to a policy of seeking protection in the provincial courts which still preserved, to some extent, the nature of the earlier Karnātaka *rājadhānīs*.

There was another reason which made Jainism more conspicuous in the seats of the viceroys than in the city of Vijayanagara. The broadmindedness and farsighted policy of universal toleration which the monarchs of Vijayanagara extended to all faiths in the capital, attracted to it in large numbers learned men belonging to the different religions. The city of Vijayanagara became the meeting place of philosophers and poets of the Empire. It was unfortunate that the *anekāntamata* had now no champion of the Vādirāja or Ajitasena type, who could successfully withstand the disputation of the non-Jaina religious teachers in the capital. Excepting in one famous instance, Jainism was practically without leaders in the city of Vijayanagara. This shortcoming told not a little on its career in the capital, and was responsible for the stubborn stand it took in the provincial seats.

But this was a misfortune in disguise. The provincial viceroys unhampered by the political questions which faced their suzerains in the City of Victory, could devote themselves whole-heartedly to religious and cultural questions. Coupled with this was the fact that the Central Government never interfered with the domestic affairs of the provincial viceroys. These reasons enabled the latter to play the rôle of Defenders of the Jina *dharma*, and to bestow on it the care and patronage which it could not expect at the hands

of the Emperors at the capital. This was of great advantage for the cause of Jainism, since had it made the City of Victory its sole strength, the *anekāntamata* would have collapsed with the destruction of that city.

That it did not do so but continued its useful career is due to the benevolent attitude of some of the Vijayanagara viceroys. There were two classes of feudatories who actively supported the doctrine of *syād vāda.* One class was made up of the great feudatories like the Kongāḷvas, the Cangāḷvas, the Sāḷuvas of Sangītapura, the kings of Gērasoppe, and the Bhairarasa Oḍeyars of of Kārkaḷa. And the other class comprised lesser feudatories of the type of the lords of Āvaḷināḍ, the *Mahāprabhus* of Kuppaṭūr, Morasunāḍ, Bidirūr, Bāguñjisīme, Nuggehaḷḷi, and others. In addition to these mention must be made of the marked exertions of feudal ladies for the cause of the Jina *dharma.*

There is nothing strange in the Kongaḷvas and the Cangāḷvas having maintained the prestige of the *anekānta-mata.* We have already given sufficient proof of their zeal in this direction in the pre-Vijayanagara days. Notwithstanding the fact of their having been converted into the Vīra Śaiva faith, they continued to be patrons of Jainism in the Vijayanagara age. Thus, for instance, in A.D. 1390, a Kongāḷva ruler whose name ends in. . .lli Deva, restored the Candranātha *basadi* at Muḷḷūru. . . . . . This king was the disciple of Vijayakīrtideva, whose *guru* was the Ārya Subhendu. Both the *guru* and the disciple belonged to the Pustaka *gaccha.* On the Kongāḷva ruler restoring the *basadi,* his queen Suguṇī Devī by her bodyguard Vijayadeva set up the god Candranātha and made specific grants of land for his worship.[1]

1. *E. C.*, IX. Cg. 39, p. 174.

Whatever may have been the success which Vīra Śaivism scored in the royal House of the Cangāḷvas of Canganāḍ, it is evident that so late as the sixteenth century A.D., there were staunch supporters of the Jina *dharma* in Nañjarāyapaṭṭaṇa, In A.D. 1509, for instance, Cenna Bommarasa, a minister of the Cangāḷva king, and one who was descended from a line of ministers beginning with the supporter and promoter of Jainism (*Jina dharma sahāya pratipālakar*) Bommaya *mantri*, is called "the crest jewel of perfect faith in Jainism." We do not know in what manner he advanced the cause of the Jina *dharma* in the Cangāḷva principality. But the assemblage of the blessed Śrāvakas of Nañjarāyapaṭṭaṇa caused the *baḷḷivāḍa* (? arbour) of Gummaṭasvāmi of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa to be renovated. Since the name of the minister Canna Bommarasa is coupled with the assemblage of the Jaina citizens of that Cangāḷva city, we have to assume that he was partly responsible for the renovation of the arbour at Belgoḷa.[1]

The history of the Cangāḷvas in the sixteenth century is particularly interesting because of the attempts probably made by them to reconcile the Vīra Śaivas and the Jainas in Canganāḍ, and because of the charitable deeds of a Cangāḷva nobleman. Dr. Shama Sastry, while examining the temples in the Huṇsūr tāluka, discovered in a cave near the Āñjaneya temple at the foot of the hill in Beṭṭadapura, some remarkable double *lingas* which were not found anywhere in the Mysore State. He discovered to the left of the serpent hoods a figure of Ucchiṣṭha Gaṇapati or Śakti Gaṇapati, with a nude female carved on its lap. And a nude squatting figure with the name written below was also found by him.[2]

1. *E. C. IX.*, II. 228, pp. 96-97.
2. *M. A. R. for 1924*, pp. 1-2.

He rightly commented on these double *lingas* by saying that the association of Jina images with Śaivite *lingas* pointed to the reconciliation effected between the Jainas and the Lingāyats during the rule of the Cangāḷvas in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D.[1]

A notable figure in the annals of the Cangāḷva kings is that of General Mangarasa. An able commander, Mangarasa was also a clever Kannaḍa poet and a patron of Jainism. He was the son of the *Mahāprabhu* Vijayapāla, the viceroy of Kallahaḷḷi, and the minister of the Cangāḷva king. His mother's name was Dēvile.[2] Both Vijayapāla and Dēvile were pious Jainas.

The martial activities of Mangarasa are mentioned in connection with the foundation of the city of Beṭṭadapura. It is related in a manuscript dealing with the origin of this city, that Mangarasa was instrumental in the subjugation of the wild tribes called the Bēḍars and in the building of the city of Beṭṭadapura, during the rule of the Cangāḷva king Vikramarāya. This Cangāḷva ruler, we may incidentally note, built the *trikūṭācala* Jina *basadi* at Cikka Hanasōge.[3]

Mangarasa is said to have fortified Kallahaḷḷi, Cilukunda, Mallarājapaṭṭaṇa, Pālupāre, and other centres. He con-

1. *M. A. R. for 1925*, p. 15.

2. Copies of inscriptions said to be dated Śaka 1535 (A.D. 1613) give the names Vijayarāja and Kusumājammaṇṇi as the parents of Mangarasa, and relate that Vijayarāja was the son of king Mādhavarājendra of Cangāḷadeśa. (*M. A. R. for 1925* p. 14).

3. *M. A. R. for 1925*, pp. 14-15. This Ms. is supposed to be based on a stone inscription found at Tunga. But the fact of Mangarasa's having been the minister of Vikrama is confirmed by Mangarasa's own work to be mentioned presently.

structed several tanks and Jaina temples. He built Yamagumba *basadi* in which he set up the images of Pārśvanātha, Padmāvatī, and Cannigabrahmarāya.[1]

His works have earned for him a high place in Kannaḍa literature. He wrote *Jayanṛpakāvya, Prabhañjanacarite, Śrīpālacarite, Nemijineśasangati, Samyuktvakaumudī* and a work on cookery called *Sūpaśāstra.* His date is fixed by the fact that he wrote his *Samyuktvakaumudī* in Śaka A.D. 1431 (A.D. 1509).[2]

That the Cangāḷvas continued to be devotees of the *syād vāda* doctrine is borne out by a record dated Śaka 1489 (A.D. 1557), which registers the grant of a village by the Cangāḷva king Vikramarāya to a learned Brahman named Narasībhaṭṭa. The grant begins with the usual praise of the Jina *śāsana.*[3]

The work of the Cangāḷva kings to promote the interests of the *anekāntamata* was no doubt creditable ; but in reality it could not stand comparison with the indefatigable attempts of the rulers of three provincial capitals, who were mainly responsible for the prosperous condition of Jainism in the western parts of Karnāṭaka. These were the rulers of Sangītapura, Gērasoppe, and Kārkaḷa. Of these we shall mention here some details about only one centre—Sangītapura, reserving for a latter context those in regard to Gērasoppe and Kārkaḷa. From the latter half of the fifteenth till the latter half of the sixteenth century A.D., the rulers of Sangītapura figure as champions of Jainism. Sangītapura,

1. *M. A. R. for 1925,* p. 14.
2. *Kavicarite,* II. pp. 179-188.
3. *M. A. R. for 1925,* pp. 93-94. The dating of this record is irregular. For the Śaka 1489 corresponds to Prabhava, and not to Sarvajit, as given in the grant.

or better known as Hāḍuhaḷḷi, was one of the chief cities of Tuḷuva.[1] The kings of this city belonged to the Kaśyapa *gotra* and the Soma *vaṁśa*. An inscription dated A.D. 1488 describes Sangītapura thus—In the Tauḷavadeśa, the abode of fortune, having splendid *caityālayas*, a place of descent in the female line, inhabited by happy, generous, and pleasure-loving people, filled with elephants, horses, and powerful warriors, poets, disputers, orators, and declaimers, a place for the production of elegant literature, renowned for all the fine arts, was Sangītapura.

There are good reasons to believe that the praise thus given to the city, particularly in regard to the company of learned men, was not extravagant. We shall have an occasion of referring presently to the learned circles of Sangītapura.

The same epigraph cited above gives the name of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sāluvendra as the king of Sangītapura in A.D. 1488. "Devoted to the pair of feet of Candraprabha Jina," this ruler with "his mind a casket for the three jewels"[2], promoted the cause of the Jina *dharma* by constructing beautiful and lofty *caityālayas*, with glorious *maṇṭapas*, *mahā-stambhas* of bell-metal, pleasure groves for the town, many images of metal and stone, provision for temple ceremonies, daily gifts, worship, and gifts of learning. It was thus that king Sāluvendra maintained royal dignity and *dharma* (*antu rāja-dharmam pālisuttam*).[3]

His minister was Padma, or Padmaṇa, who was also of

1. It is now in the North Kanara district.
2. *Ratna-traya* which are *samyak-dharśana* (purity in sight) *samyak-jñāna* (purity in thought), and *samyak--cārita* (purity in conduct).
3. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 163, p. 123-124.

the royal stock. In the same year A.D. 1488 king Sāḷuvendra gave Minister Padmaṇa the village of Ogeyakere which the latter, saying that he had enough for his family, donated for the cause of the Jina *dharma*. And ten years later (A.D. 1498) Padma built a *caityālaya* in a new village called Padmākarapura, had the god Pārśvanātha set up there, and endowed it with the shares of the village which he had got as a royal gift. This was done at the instance of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Indagarasa Oḍeyar.[1]

The *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Indagarasa was the son of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sangi Rāja, whose elder son seems to have been king Sāluvendra mentioned above. Indagarasa was also known as Immaḍi Sāluvendra, and was noted for his martial activities. An epigraph dated A.D. 1491 speaks in highly eulogistic terms of his warlike deeds, and informs us that "he won the goddess of valour". It was he who restored the ancient grants of land made to the Vardhamānasvāmi *basadi* of Bidiru (*i.e.*, Veṇupura).[2]

The next prominent names we meet with in the Sāluva genealogy, so far as the history of Jainism is concerned, are those of Sāluva Malli Rāya, Sāluva Deva Rāya, and Sāluva Kṛṣṇa Deva, the son of Padmāmbā, who was the sister of the second ruler Deva Rāya. These names are mentioned in a record dated about A.D. 1530. All these three kings of Sangītapura were patrons of the most celebrated Jaina orator of the Vijayanagara age—Vādi Vidyānanda. As we shall see later on, king Sāluva Malli Rāya had in his court an assembly of enlightened men whom Vādi Vidyānanda defeated. The same success met the Jaina teacher in the learned as-

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 123, p. 124.
2. *Ibid.*, Sa. 164, p. 125.

sembly of king Sāluva Deva Rāya ; while king Sāluva Kṛṣṇa Rāja worshipped the great Jaina orator.[1]

It is not to be imagined that Jainism which received such support from the rulers of Saṅgītapura and other provincial capitals, had not enemies who tried to crush that religion. One such enemy of the *anekāntamata* was the chief of Śrīśaila (Kurnool district). He was a pious Vīra Śaiva chief, and the son of Śanta. An inscription dated Śaka 1433 (A.D. 1512) commemorates the many gifts of this chief to the well known temple of Śrīśala. It is said that one of the pious deeds of this chief was the beheading of the Śvetāmbara Jainas ! [2] We do not know what action the Vijayanagara Government took against this zealous champion of Vīra Śaivism, especially in an age which had produced the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

However, chiefs of this type were not the rule in the Vijayanagara Empire. On the other hand, the sympathetic, and, in many instances, sustained aid given by the many great nobles for the welfare of the Jina *dharma*, was in a large measure responsible for its success in the different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire. Inscriptions ranging from the middle of the fourteenth to the early part of the seventeenth century A.D., refer in copious terms to the endeavours made by the nobles and citizens on behalf of the *syād vāda* doctrine. But before we describe these records, it may be interesting to observe how noble ladies gave expression to their devotion to the Jina *dharma*. In this connection we have to remember the lead given to the ladies of the Empire by the members of the imperial family which we have already described above.

1. *E. C.* VIII. Nr. 46, pp. 146-149.
2. *16 of 1915 ;* Rangacharya, *Top List*, II, p. 953.

The ladies of the Sohrab noble family were orthodox Jainas. Lakṣmī Bommakka, the daughter of Sohrab Vīra Gauḍa, and the wife of the *Āḷva-mahāprabhu* Tavanidhi Brahma Gauḍa of Sohrab, was one of these. Her *guru* was Simhanandi Ācārya, the head of the Balātkāra *gaṇa*. In A.D. 1372 she died by the rites of *samādhi*. The record commemorating her death praises her highly for her virtues and charitable deeds as a Jaina.[1]

She was not the only lady who lived an exemplary life. Mecakka vied with her in devotion and service. This lady was the daughter of Baciya Rāja of Uddhare, and the wife of the Sohrab *Mahāprabhu* Deva Rāja. In A.D. 1405 she too died in the orthodox manner.[2] About fifty years later Bhāgīrathī, the daughter of the *mahāprabhu* Buḷḷappa, also hailing from the same Sohrab province, gave similar expression to her orthodox convictions and expired. We shall have to revert to her father the *Mahāprabhu* Buḷḷappa, who was placed over the Nāgarakhaṇḍa principality, later on while dealing with that province.[3]

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century we have the noble lady Kāḷala Devī, the ruler of the Bāguñjisīme, and the younger sister of the Kārkaḷa king Bhairarasa Oḍeyar. In A.D. 1530 she made special provision for the continuance of the Jina *dharma* in the territory over which she ruled "in her own right". Bāguñji itself was a centre of the Bhavyas. The god Pārśva-Tīrthankara of Kallabasti in that principality, was the family god of Kāḷala Dēvī. It was on the death of her daughter Ramā Devī that Kāḷala Devī made grants (specified in detail) for the daily worship

1. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 199, pp. 31-32.
2. *Ibid*, Sb. 51, p. 9.
3. *Ibid*, Sb. 331, p. 59.

and provisions of her family god. But this was done in the constitutional manner of the land. The grant was made in the presence of the former ministers of the Bāguñjisīme, the Brahmans, the cultivators, the *nāḍ* representatives, and others. This done, she obtained the sanction of the Kārkaḷa king for the same, and then had the stone *śāsana* engraved. It is interesting to note that on this occasion she added specified lands as gifts to the grant which a boatman named Voḷiya had made some time ago also to the same Kalla *basadi*.

Kāḷala Devī's anxiety to endow the Kalla *basadi* with grants was not merely an expression of outward piety. She was a broadminded ruler who believed in universal toleration. It is this which explains why the charter commemorating her gifts to the same *basadi* begins with an invocation to the *syād vāda* doctrine in the usual Jaina manner, and also with an obeisance to Ādi Varāha Śambhu.[1]

1. *E.C.* VI. Kp. 47, p. 84.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ANEKĀNTAMATA IN THE EMPIRE

Why Jainism held its own in the various cities—The history of Jainism in the different cities of the Vijayanagara Empire from the fourteenth till the seventeenth century A.D.

NEITHER in the great capital nor in the provincial seats was the influence of Jainism so markedly felt as in the different cities of the Vijayanagara Empire where the citizens accorded to it a most cordial reception. This could not be otherwise when the Vijayanagara monarchs themselves, in spite of their having been committed to a policy of upholding the Hindu *dharma*, had nevertheless championed the cause of the *syād vāda* doctrine, and when the provincial rulers had showed their great anxiety to preserve the prestige of the Jina *dharma* in the various parts of the Empire. Thus guided by the imperial and feudal rulers, the citizens were not slow to give Jainism every support they could give in their towns and villages.

The history of the Jaina religion, therefore, assumes a different phase in the Vijayanagara age. It is no more the religion of the royalty it had been in the days of the early Karnāṭaka kings. Notwithstanding the unreserved patronage given to it by the Vijayanagara monarchs, and the encouragement shown to it by the feudal nobles, Jainism realized that its fortune was now cast with the common people. And

like all institutions which mirrored the political vicissitudes through which the Vijayanagara Empire passed, Jainism, too, reflected the changing fortunes of that great mediæval organization. It was in the middle of the fourteenth century that king Bukka Rāya had publicly laid down a policy of impartiality to all the religions. And it was also in this century that the growing Empire of Vijayanagara invigorated itself after a series of successful campaigns against its enemies. Both these features are visible in the history of Jainism in the mediæval ages. During the fourteenth century Jainism was popular throughout the Empire, and everywhere the people, obviously in imitation of the example set by king Bukka Rāya in A.D. 1368, nourished the cause of the Jina *dharma,* in spite of their being the followers of an avowedly non-Jaina faith. The Vijayanagara Empire matured in the fifteenth century, and reached its height in the sixteenth century. It was during the fifteenth century that Jainism permeated the people and the powerful principalities of the Empire. The glorious age of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great and Acyuta Rāya marked the hey-day of the Vijayanagara Empire; and curiously enough it was also the period when Jainism produced its most renowned exponent in the person of Vādi Vidyānanda. The seventeenth century witnessed the waning of the Vijayanagara authority; and at the same time the retreat of Jainism from the strongholds it possessed in the many provincial seats to its original home Śravaṇa Belgoḷa and the more distant province of Tuḷuva. Like the fate of the Hindu *dharma,* that of the *syād vāda,* too, was linked intimately with the fortunes of the Vijayanagara House.

If we examine the history of Jainism in Belgoḷa, Kalleha, Hosapattaṇa, Harave, Maleyūr, Huṇsūr, Āvaḷi, Sohrāb, Ḥire Çauti, Kuppaṭūr, Uddhare, Huligeṛe, Rāyadurga, and

Dānavulapāḍu, we shall find that in the fourteenth century it was still characterized by that robustness which had marked its career in the early times. Śravaṇa Belgoḷa naturally led all the other centres in sanctity and power. Pious people from different parts of the Vijayanagara Empire reckoned it to be the most celebrated place of pilgrimage. Hāḷeya Masaṇaya was evidently one such pilgrim.[1] Prominent nobles also visited Belgoḷa. Thus in A.D. 1398 Hariyaṇa and Māṇikadeva were the disciples of the great (Cārukīrti) Paṇḍitadeva of that centre. These two nobles are called "the rulers of that region", probably meaning thereby that they were in some manner connected with the region around Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[2]

The year A.D. 1400 was, for some reasons unknown to us, memorable in the history of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. For it is in that year that, as is proved by the many epigraphs of that date, quite a number of pilgrims visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[3]

The great interest which the pontificate of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa took in purely political matters is seen in the manner it published news of the events concerning the whole Empire. When king Harihara Rāya II died in A.D. 1404 this event was recorded in a stone inscription dated in that year at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[4] And when king Deva Rāya II died in A.D. 1446, that fact also was commemorated in two epigraphs of the same date in the same holy place.[5] Information is not forthcoming to show why these events should

1. *E.C.* II., 311, p. 130.
2. *Ibid.*, 171-173, 499, pp. 124-125, 134.
3. *Ibid*, 329, p. 140.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid*, 328, 330, pp. 139-140. Was it so because of the Jaina propensities of these rulers?

have been so scrupulously inscribed at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

It may be that because that that locality being a celebrated place of pilgrimage, attracted a huge concourse of people. Thus in about A.D. 1407 six persons including those of the Ōjakula, visited Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.[1] Māyaṇṇa of Gangavati, a lay disciple of Candrakīrti, and one who had become famous as "the crest jewel of pure faith", purchasing some specified land under the Gangasamudra tank of Belgoḷa in A.D. 1409, granted it for the worship of Gummaṭasvāmi. This was done in the presence of the Jaina jewel merchants and two Gauḍas (named) of the locality.[2] The next year Bastāyi, a lay disciple of Paṇḍitadeva, caused an image of Vardhamānasvāmi to be made at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. This may have been in imitation of the generous action of the Vijayanagara queen Bhīmā Devī mentioned in an earlier context.[3] In about A.D. 1417 Kariya Gummaṭa Śeṭṭi went to Belgoḷa with a group of pilgrims from Biḍiti, and honoured the *sangha* on the conclusion of the *ratnatraya* observance (Nompi) in the presence of the god Gummaṭasvāmi.[4]

One noteworthy feature in connection with Śravaṇa Belgoḷa is its intimate relationship with Mārwār in the Vijayanagara age. Agaṣuje Jagad of the Mūla *sangha* hailing from Mārwār, caused an image of a god to be constructed at Belgoḷa in about A.D. 1486.[5] Two years later Gomaṭa Bhūpāla Prajansavāla, and Brahmacāri of the Kadika family belonging to Purasthāna, came on a pilgrimage to Belgoḷa with

1. *E. C.* II, 497, p. 134.
2. *Ibid*, 255, p. 115.
3. *Ibid*, 338, p. 144, Op. cit.,
4. *Ibid*, 232, p. 97. See also nos. 229, 233 *ibid*.
5. *Ibid*, 202, p. 93.

their brothers and sons.[1] And in A.D. 1490 Brahmadharmaruci-Brahmaguṇasāgara Paṇḍita, the lay disciple of Abhayacandra Bhaṭṭāraka, came also from Mārwār to Belgoḷa.[2] The influx of the northern Jaina merchants into the Vijayanagara Empire during the fourteenth century and earlier, may have been partly responsible for the institution of an official enquiry under the orders of the Emperor Deva Rāya II concerning the distinction between the *Uttarāpathanagareśvaradevatopāsakas* and the southern Jaina and non-Jaina merchants to be mentioned in a later context.

The year A.D. 1500 was eventful in the annals of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and, therefore, of Jainism. For in that year was made the *mahābhiṣeka* (great anointment) of Gummaṭasvāmi for which the *guru* Paṇḍitadeva gave certain specified grant.[3] About that same time Nāga Goṇḍa of Belguḷanāḍu and the Gavuḍagaḷ of Muttaga Honnēnahaḷḷ—all of whom were the disciples of Paṇḍitadeva, granted specified lands for the *basadi* which had been built by Mangāyi.[4]

We have already seen that Kalleha was an important Jaina centre. It is mentioned in connection with the great controversy between the Jainas and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas which the king Bukka Rāya settled in A.D. 1368. We see its importance since the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. when Pāyi Seṭṭi, the son of Nāga Śeṭṭi of Kalleha, a most pious Jaina, and one who had the *biruda* of *Samyaktva-cūḍāmani* (crest jewel of firm faith in Jainism), expired by the orthodox manner of *samādhi* at Belgoḷa. He was the disciple of Abhinava Paṇḍitācārya of

1. *E. C.* II, 192, p. 91.
2. *Ibid*, 203, p. 93.
3. *Ibid*, 231, p. 97.
4. *Ibid*, 395, p. 169.

the Mūla *sangha.* The inscription commemorates also the fact that Payi Śeṭṭi gained happy *samādhi* as a result of having offered the *campaka* tree for the worship of Gummaṭanāthasvāmi.[1]

One of the early capitals of the Vijayanagara rulers was Hosapaṭṭaṇa. This city was also a well known stronghold of the Jainas. It is like Kalleha referred to in connection with the great controversy mentioned above. Māyaṇa and Mākaṇa erected a monument in memory of the *rāja guru* Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka at Hosapaṭṭaṇa. These were two brothers of the Vaiśya caste hailing from Baḷagāra. Cāyaṇa was a disciple of the *guru* Amarakīrti, and a worshipper at the Sankha *basadi* at Huligere. The event recorded in this inscription took place in the reign of king Bukka Rāya.[2] A similar stone to commemorate the death of the *guru* Manasena was erected by his disciple Māya Śeṭṭi and others in A.D. 1405.[3]

The Chāmarājanagara tāluka contained some noteworthy cities in the Vijayanagara times. The town of Chāmarājanagara itself possessed the Pārśvanātha *basadi.* Here in the fourteenth century A.D. expired by the orthodox manner Boppayya, the disciple of Amarakīrti of the Krāṇūr *gaṇa.*[4] In A.D. 1517 the *Mahāprabhu* Vīrayya Nāyaka, of Arikuṭhāra, the son of Kāmaya Nāyaka, endowed this *basadi* with a gift.[5]

Harave in the same *tāluka* contained the *caityālaya* of Ād:

1. *E. C.* II. 495, pp. 133-4.
2. *M. A. R.* for 1927, pp. 61-62.
3. *Ibid,* p. 62. See also p. 63 for a *niśidhi* erected on the death of Maunapācārya. Dr. Sastry has identified Hosapoṭṭaṇa with Sakkarepaṭṭaṇa.
4. *Ibid for 1931,* p. 42.
5. *Ibid for 1912,* p. 51.

Parameśvara. It was set up in A.D. 1482 by Devarasa, the accountant of the *Mahāmaṇḍleśvara* Somerāya Oḍeyar. On Devarasa constructing this *caityālaya* with a kitchen attached to it, his master Somerāya Oḍeyar granted specified land to it for the daily worship in that temple, and for the daily distribution of food. And his son Nañjerāja Oḍeyar purchased land in Harave and gave it as a gift to the *basadi.* This caused a citizen named Candappa, the son of Devappa of Harave, to give a similar gift to the *basadi.* But the lands which Candappa gave were a part of his inherited property. Hence he had to give it with the consent of his wife, sons, and heirs.[1] That was not all. Candappa had received as a gift some land from the chiefs of Tagḍūr. This too in the same year he presented to the god Ādi Parameśvara —who is called the family god of this citizen—, again with the full approval of his relations and heirs.[2]

Maleyūr in the same tāluka was another stronghold of Jainism. Here on the hill called Kanakagiri were famous *basadis* of the gods Vijayanātha and Candraprabha. In A.D. 1355 a Telugu by name Ādidāsa caused an image of Vijayadeva to be made. He was the disciple of Hemmacandra who belonged to the Hanasōge *baḷi,* and of Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka. The image, we are told, was made " for the purpose of their tomb ".[3] This latter *guru* Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka was probably identical with his namesake who is said to have belonged to the Deśiya *gaṇa,* Pustaka *gaccha,* and the Hanasōge *baḷi,* in a record assigned to the fourteenth century A.D., and found on the pedestal of an image of

1. *E. C.* IV, Ch. 185, p. 22.
2. *Ibid,* Ch. 189, p. 23.
3. *Ibid,* Ch. 153, p. 20.

Pārśvanātha in Terakaṇāmbi.[1]

There was a very learned *guru* in Maleyūr in about A.D. 1380. He was Bāhubali Paṇḍita the disciple of Nayakīrti-vrati. Bāhubali was a poet in two languages, omniscient in the science of astrology, and "an emperor of all learning." He was attached to the Pustaka *gaccha*.[2]

Kanakagiri attracted learned men from distant parts. Candrakīrtideva of Kopaṇa already mentioned in connection with the latter *mahātīrtha*, was one of them. He was the *guru* of the General Kūci Rāja, and he visited Kanakagiri in about A.D. 1400. His guru was Śubhacandra of the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*. It was Candrakīrti who in the same year caused an image of Candraprabha to be set up at Kanakagiri, "intending it for his own tomb".[3]

Prince Harihara Rāya's gifts to the temple at Kanakagiri deserve special notice. He was the son of the Emperor Deva Rāya I. His gift of the village of Maleyūr itself together with all lands and taxes pertaining thereto, with its hamlets of Huṇsūrapura, for the offerings, decorations, and processions of the god Vijayanātha of Kanakagiri made in A.D. 1422, was commemorated in two inscriptions—one a stone inscription and the other a copper-plate grant. These two inscriptions begin in the orthodox Jaina manner by invoking the *syād vāda* doctrine, and one of them ends with the accredited royal sign-manual—Virūpākṣa—written in Kannaḍa. In the stone record the god is called Śrī Vijayadeva, while in the copper-plate grant, Śrī Vijayanāthadeva. The gift in the copper-plate grant was made in the presence of the god Triyambaka. This latter consideration may have led Rice to assert that

1. *M. A. R. for 1934*, pp. 169-170.
2. *E. C.* IV. Ch. 157, p. 21.
3. *Ibid*, Ch. 151, p. 20.

"This village (of Maleyūr) would therefore seem to have been no longer exclusively Jaina.[1]

But such an assumption cannot be maintained. The god Vijayanātha, as we have remarked above, was set up by a Jaina devotee in A.D. 1355. And Kanakagiri, as will be proved by the following inscriptions, remained a Jaina centre till the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1518 Municandradeva died in Kanakagiri. He had belonged to the Kālor *gaṇa* and the Mūla *sangha*. On his death, his disciples Ādidāsa and Vṛṣabhadāsa caused suitable memorials to be made on that hill. Ādidāsa had his *guru's* footprints inscribed through Āvujaṇṇa, while Vṛṣabhadāsa, who seems to have been the chief disciple of Municandra, had a tomb constructed for the latter with a verse which was the work of Vidyānandopādhyāya.[2]

Indeed, Kanakagiri continued to be a Jaina stronghold till the modern times. For it was in A.D. 1813 that Bhaṭṭākalanka, the head of the Deśiya *gaṇa*, and lord of the secure throne in Kanakagiri, died on that hill.[3]

Rāvandūru in the Huṇsūr tāluka, Mysore State, seems to have had an ancient *basadi*. We infer this from the inscription dated A.D. 1384 in which the death of Śrutakīrtideva, the chief disciple of Prabhendu, of the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi*, is recorded. His disciple Ādidevamuni and Sumati Tīrthankara, along with the Bhavyas of the Śrutagaṇa, set up a memorial on his behalf. And at the same time they repaired that *caityālaya*. The last statement that they repaired the *caityālaya*

1. *E. C.* IV, Intr. p. 24 ; Ch. 144, 159, pp. 19, 21 ; text pp. 55, 59.

2. *Ibid*, Ch. 147, 148, 161, pp. 19-21.

3. *Ibid*, Ch. 146, 150, pp. 19-20.

suggests that it must have existed there for a considerable time.[1]

There was another locality in the Huṇsūr tāluka which was associated with the Jainas. This was the village of Ānevāḷu. Here Honnaṇa Gauḍa, the son of Cikkaṇa Gauḍa of Ānevāḷu, erected the Brahmadeva and Padmāvati *basadi* in that village. The *basadi* was constructed in order that his parents and his own son Bommaṇa Gauḍa might obtain merit.[2] The image of Ananta with a fragmentary inscription containing the name Ananta and the cyclic year Pramoda, assigned to A.D. 1433, also lends support to the view that Ānevāḷu was, indeed, a Jaina locality.[3]

But a better known centre of Jainism was the Āvaḷināḍ. This region which has figured so prominently in the history of mediaeval Jainism, owed its greatness to the untiring zeal of its noblemen, noblewomen, and its citizens, from the middle of the fourteenth till the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. One special feature of Āvaḷināḍ is that most of the records found here are memorial stones. Thus, for instance, on the death of Kāma Gauḍa, the disciple of Rāmacandra Maladhārideva, in A.D. 1353, after doing the five salutations (*pañca-namaskāradim*), the people set up a *niśidhi* to perpetuate his memory.[4] When in the next year A.D. 1354 Mala Gauḍa showed likewise his devotion to Jina, his wife Cennakka, however, committed *sahagamana*.[5] Canda Gauḍa's younger brother (unnamed in the record), and a lay disciple Siddhāntadeva, by means of the *saṁnya-*

1. *E .C.* IV, Hs. 123, p. 95.
2. *Ibid*, Hs. 61, 62, p. 90.
3. *Ibid*, Hs. 60, p. 90.
4. *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 110, text p. 42.
5. *Ibid*, Sb. 104, p. 15.

sana gained *svarga* in about A.D. 1366.[1] From that date for about fifty-five years this orthodox manner of renouncing life seems to have been very popular with the Gauḍas of Āvaḷināḍ.[2]

It may be remembered here that the *Mahāprabhus* of Āvaḷināḍ themselves had set a noble example to their subjects in this matter. Beci Gauḍa, the son of the *Mahāprabhu* of Āvaḷināḍ Canda Gauḍa, was the disciple of Rāmacandra Maladhārideva. In about A.D. 1376 he performed the five obeisances and expired. On this his junior wife Muddi Gauṇḍi performed *sahagamana*. And the Āvaḷi *Prabhus* (noblemen, several of whom are named) set up a suitable monument to make permanent the devotion of the two to the Jina faith.[3] The niece of the ruling *Mahāprabhu* Beca Gauḍa, by name Kāmi Gauṇḍi, went to *svarga* by *saṁnyasana* in A.D. 1395. She was a disciple of the *rāja guru* Siddhāntiyati.[4] There was another case of self-immolation in Āvaḷināḍ in A.D. 1398 when the wife of the ruling *Mahāprabhu* Canda Gauḍa, named Canda Gauṇḍi, the disciple of Vijayakīrti committed a similar act of devotion.[5] Hāruva Gauḍa was the son of the ruling *Mahāprabhu* Rāma Gauḍa. He too in A.D. 1408 died in the same manner. His *guru* was Munibhadradeva.[6] Guṇasena Siddhānta is mentioned in connection with the death by *samādhi* of Kāḷi Gauṇḍi, the wife of the ruling *Mahāprabhu* Ayappa Gauṇḍa, in *circa* A.D. 1417.[7]

These examples of devotion viewed from the modern

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 102, p. 15.
2. *Ibid*, Sb. 106-120, p. 16, text, pp. 41-46.
3. *Ibid*, Sb. 106, pp. 15-16.
4. *Ibid*, Sb. 103, p. 15.
5. *Ibid*, Sb. 105, p. 15. text, pp. 40-41.
6. *Ibid*, Sb. 107, p. 16.
7. *Ibid*, Tl. 121, p. 186.

standpoint may appear to be relics of fanaticism. But to the people of the mediaeval times the only mode of expressing one's devotion was to abide by the strictest injunctions of one's faith. The Jaina leaders, we may observe by the way, had showed throughout the history of Jainism that self-abstinence was the only way to salvation. The people and princes of Āvaḷināḍ merely followed the precept of the Jaina teachers in this respect. The few examples of extreme devotion we have given above are noteworthy from another point of view. The Mahāprabhus of Āvaḷināḍ by their steadfastness to the service of the Jina *dharma*, had raised religious zeal to a height which it rarely attained anywhere in those days.

But Āvaḷināḍ was not the only part of the Sohrāb tāluka where the Bhavyas followed unswervingly the tenets of the *anekāntamata*. Kuppaṭūr, Uddhare, and Huligere were also well known as prominent Jaina centres. In Kuppaṭūr lived the famous Śrutamuni whose disciple was Devacandra, " praised by the good chief poets." Both belonged to the Deśiya *gaṇa*. Devacandra, who had restored a Jaina temple at Kuppaṭūr, died in A.D. 1367.[1] By A.D. 1402 Kuppaṭūr had become a famous place. It was the best place in the whole of Nāgarakhaṇḍa. Here was a Jaina *caityālaya* which had received a *śāsana* from the Kadambas. In that *caityālaya* was " the famous Candraprabha, a relative (*bāndhava*) of Pārśvanātha, serving as *guru* the *paṇḍita* whom his father Durgeśa had pointed out."[2]

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 260, p. 40.
2. The date of this record is not clear. Rice dates it to A.D. 1342 or A.D. 1402. The cyclic year Citrabhānu and a few details given in it are not verifiable. (*Ibid*, Sb. 263, pp. 42-43, text,' p. 111.).

When the Malanāḍ *Mahāprabhu* Gopaṇṇa died in A.D. 1408, as noted by us in a previous page, Kuppaṭūr was already turned into a fine place—the pride of the Jainas. The inscription dated A.D. 1408 which informs us this, praises it in high terms. It relates that shining in beauty beyond all countries was the entire Karnāṭaka province, and in that Karnāṭaka country was the famous Guttināḍ which contained Eighteen Kampaṇas, in which the most famous *nāḍ* was Nāgarakhaṇḍa to which Kuppaṭūr was an ornament, with its *caityālayas,* lotus ponds, pleasure gardens, and fields of *gandhaśāli* rice. Indeed, the Jainas had turned it into a charming city, for the stone inscription tells us that it was to the Bhavyas that it owed its grandeur :—*Bhavya-jana-dharmāvāsadiṃ santataṃ sale caityālayadinde pū-goḷagaḷind-udyānadiṃ gandha-śāli-lasat-kṣetra nikāyadinde ramaṇīyaṃ bettu-vibhrājikuṃ pū-late pū-giḍa pū-mara sālind allalli-kēri-kērigaḷol-caityālayada muṅde tumbiya jāḷaṃ madav ēre-merevav ā-parimaḷadoḷu.*[1]

This inscription enables us to assert with certainty that the Jainas, who had already won renown as king-makers, were also well known as builders of towns. In fact, much of the commercial, and not a little of the æsthetic, greatness of the cities of the Vijayanagara Empire, especially those in Karnāṭaka, was due to the industrious and artistic attempts of these people who, we may well imagine from the manner in which in our own days they have amply demonstrated in the matter of adding to the material progress of towns and corporations, must have expended a substantial part of their immense wealth, in the name of the Jina *dharma,* to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the mediaeval cities. The few notices of other mediaeval cities gathered from stone

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 261, text p. 108.

inscriptions, as we shall presently see, only prove that the description of Kuppaṭūr as given in the above record was by no means conventional praise.[1]

In the Sohrāb tāluka there were other centres of Jainism. Tavanidhi (mod. Tavanandi) was one such place. Here was the well known *basadi* of Śānti Tīrthankara. In A.D. 1372 Bommaṇa, the son of Tavanidhi Mādi Gauḍa, and the disciple of Mādhavacandra Maladhārideva, died by the rites of *samādhi*.[2] It is not unlikely that the *Āḷuva Mahāprabhu* Tavanidhi Bomma Gauḍa himself was a disciple of that *guru*. Whether this is permissible or not, we know that Tavanidhi Bomma Gauḍa died by the *saṁnyasana* rites in A.D. 1379.[3] There is every reason to believe that such a course of action was directed by the Jaina priests themselves. We prove this from the example of Tamma Gauḍa of Sohrāb, evidently a nobleman, who died of consumption. He had been to Nagileyakoppa below the Ghats in A.D. 1394, in order to take medicine, but this was of no avail. The inscription relates that at this, directed by his *guru* Siddhāntadeva, he repeated the five obeisances and died in the prescribed manner.[4]

We now come to Uddhare (mod. Udri), a great city also in the Sohrāb tāluka. It continued to be a Jaina seat from the Hoysala times. In Uddhare lived the Jaina lead-

1. The Jainas also constructed *basadis*. Nāgi Seṭṭi and Seṇi Seṭṭi, "of prosperous Banavasi", constructed a *basadi* probably at Hire Cauti in the Sohrāb tāluka in the reign of king Bukka Rāya I. The *basadi* was dedicated to Śānti Jineśvara, but the year cannot be made out. *M. A. R. for 1928*. p. 84.

2. *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 200, p. 32. An official of the house of the *Mahāprabhu* Tavanidhi Bomma, was also a disciple of this *guru*. *Ibid*.

3. *Ibid*, Sb. 196, p. 31.

4. *Ibid*, Sb. 52, p. 9.

er Baicapa in the reign of king Harihara Rāya II. The few incidents in the life of Baicapa, who is called in the record "celebrated", show that he had set an example of an ideal and patriotic subject. The inscription dated A.D. 1380 tells us that the Governor Mādhava Rāya placed over the Banavase 12,000 province, was faced with a crisis. Some base persons born in the Konkaṇa country, had risen against him. An encounter between the State troops and the rebels took place; and in the engagement Baicapa greatly distinguished himself by slaying many of the Konkaṇigas, but lost his life. Such was the sense of duty which characterized this loyal citizen that the epigraph comments thus on his death—Doing his master's service to the end, and driving back the hostile force, Baicapa went to the feet of Jina.[1]

Baicapa's son was Siriyaṇṇa, who was likewise a devout Jaina. If the father had died in the service of the State, the son wished to end his life for the cause of the Jina *dharma*. Even though Siriyaṇṇa was living a happy life with his wife Varadāmbike, yet he requested his *guru* Munibhadra to grant him "the happy state". And "at that favoured time", so the record assigned to A.D. 1400 informs us, when the rain of flowers was falling, and with a noise like thunder the sounds of great drums (*bhēri*, *dundhubi*, and *mahā-muraja*) were rolling, singing songs to himself, the *sādhu* Siriyaṇṇa swiftly clung to the feet of Jina.[2]

Uddhare was, indeed, celebrated in the fourteenth cen-

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 152, p. 22.

2. *Ibid*, Sb. 153, p. 22. The Erega *Jinālaya* of Uddhare was later on converted into a Śaiva temple. *M. A. R.* for 1931 pp. 65- 66.

tury A.D. For a whole line of Jaina *gurus* were called by the name of this city—Ācāryas of the Uddhare-*vaṁśa*. This we know from a record dated A.D. 1388 which tells us that Munibhadradeva belonged to the Uddhare-*vaṁśa*. It was he who had the Hisugal *basadi* made, and the Mulugunda Jinendra temple extended. And "when Harihara Rāya was established in Vijayanagari, the elders of the Sena *gaṇa* bowed down to the virtues of that *yati*." This seems to have been done because they were anticipating his end. For the inscription continues to relate that after performing his penance, elucidating his chosen *āgama*, practising the prescribed rites, the great Munibhadradeva with all the rites of *saṁnyasana* died. And his disciple Vārisasenadeva set up a *niśidhi* to commemorate the event.[1]

About another Jaina centre Huligere, also in the Sohrāb tāluka, we have interesting details in a record dated A.D. 1383. These concern the broadmindedness of the important commercial magnates called the Sālu-mūles or Associations of Merchants. It was only in the previous year (A.D. 1382) that the Sālu-mūles and Vīra Baṇajigas of the city of Vijayanagara, Hastināvatī, Dorasamudra, Udayagiri, Ādavāni, and quite a number of other places, had assembled together in the courtyard of the great temple of Virūpākṣa in the capital and conferred the title of Mayor of the Earth (*Pṛthvī-śeṭṭi*) upon the distinguished Minister-General of king Harihara Rāya II, Muda Daṇṇāyaka.[2] And now in A.D. 1383 a huge concourse of Sālu-mūles met at Huligere. These came from Eḍenāḍ (in Gutti), Koṇḍaraḍe, in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, Hānugal, the Cikka Jigaḷige and

1. *E.C.* VIII. Sb. 146, p. 21.
2. *Ibid*, V. Bl. 75, p. 63; Saletore, *S.P. Life*, II. pp. 107, 113.

Hiriya Jigaḷige Four Hundred, Bāḷa-Caugala-nāḍ, Hosanāḍ, Kambunāḷige, Aidāvaḷige, Hiriya Mahaḷige, Cikka Mahāḷige, Jambeyahaḷināḍ, Hedanāḍ, Kuñcināḍ, Hoṛanāḍ, Baḷenāḍ, the Gutti Eighteen Kampaṇa, Vokhaligerenāḍ, Honnattināḍ. Eṛad...yanāḍ, Halasige, Honnāle, Ingundī, and other places. In their assembly they agreed among themselves to give to the Sankala *basadi* at Huligere a *śāsana* embodying an *umbaḷi* gift of seventy *varāha* for a palanquin and other items in the *basadi*. And the Minister-General Muda also joined them on this occasion.[1]

The above is significant from two points of view. In the first place, we have the fact of the universal support which the people gave to the Sankala *basadi* of Huligere. And, secondly, it suggests that the Sālu-mūles and the Baṇajigas, who had by this time embraced the Vīra Śaiva creed, still looked upon their earlier faith with great reverence and contributed towards its prosperity in the kingdom.

Leaving these cities in the southern and western part of Karnāṭaka, we may mention one or two important centres in the Bellary and Cuddapah districts. These were Rāyadurga and Dānavulapāḍu. The former was a stronghold of the Mūla *sangha*. In A.D. 1355 a Jaina merchant named Bhogarāja constructed the image of Śāntinātha Jineśvara. He was the disciple of Māghanandi whose *guru* was Amarakīrti of the Sārasvata *gaccha*, Balātkāra *gaṇa*, and the Koṇḍakundānvaya. This was in the reign of king Harihara Rāya I.[2] The names of Candrabhūti of the Mūla *sangha*, and Candrendra, Bādayya, and Timmaṇṇa of the Yāpaṇīya *sangha*, carved on the pedestal of the Rasa Siddha images found at Rāyadurga, merely confirm the fact that

1. *E. C.*, VIII. Sb. 428, p. 75.
2. *111 of 1913*; Rangacharya, *Top. List*, I. p. 317,

it was a centre of the Jainas.[1] As regards the other locality, Dānavulapāḍu, which has already figured in these pages, we learn that in Śaka 1319 (A.D. 1397-8), a *niśidhi* of a merchant was constructed there, thereby showing its importance as a commercial seat of the Jainas.[2]

The history of the spread of Jainism in the fifteenth century only confirms the statement we have made elsewhere concerning the steady popularity of that religion in Karnāṭaka. Well known cities like Mattāvara, Vanavāsa, Gērasoppe, Bhārangi, Mūḍubidre, Kollāpura, Bandaṇike, Pāvagūḍa and Melukōṭe now rose into prominence as strongholds of Jainism. Unlike most of the centres of the fourteenth century, these cities were, on the whole, destined to play a decisive part in the history of the *syād-vāda* doctrine.

The Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Mattāvara in the Chikkamagaḷūr tāluka, Kaḍūr district, which had already come into prominence in the days of the Hoysala king Vinayāditya, continued to attract Jainas at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1400 the fame of Mattāvara was noised about because of the activities of a Jaina nun. She was Caṭaveganti of the village called Maruḷa-Jina-Jakavehaṭṭi. In the Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Mattāvara she performed *tapas* and died. To commemorate this event, Māra, the son of Abeya Mācara, set up a *niśidhi*.[3]

Vijayamangalam in the Coimbatore district which, as already noted, was associated with the memory of Pullappa, the pious younger sister of the famous Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, contained the Candranātha *basadi*. This temple received a gift of land from the Vijayanagara prince Harihara

1. *109 of 1913*; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, I. p. 317.
2. *336 of 1909*; Rangacharya, *ibid*, I. p. 590.
3. *M. A. R.* for 1932, p. 171.

Rāya, the son of king Deva Rāya I, in A.D. 1412.[1]

The well known city of Vanavāsa (Banavase) was the headquarters of a branch of the Balātkāra *gaṇa*. It was from here that Vardhamānasvāmi, described as "the moon in causing to swell the ocean the *Tattvārtha*," and Vanavāsasvāmi, another Jaina *guru*, hailed, as mentioned in records dated A.D. 1372 and 1400 respectively, cited already by us in an earlier context.[2]

More famous than the above was the city of Gērasoppe (in the mod. Honnāvara tāluka, Bombay Presidency), which played a very significant part in the history of the western part of Karnāṭaka in the fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D. The rulers of Gērasoppe were matrimonially connected with the House of Sangītapura and that of Kārkaḷa. They as well as their citizens were responsible for raising the name of Gērasoppe in the Jaina world. Gērasoppe springs into fame in the middle of the fourteenth century due to the activities of its wealthy citizens, although as a political unit it had already made a name for itself earlier. In those ages it belonged to Tuḷuva, its rulers themselves being of Tuḷuva origin. In the Vardhamāna *basadi* inscription of that city, it is called an ornament to the face of the Nagiri country-*Nagiradeśavemba lalana mukhakke vesedirp-ī Gērasoppe*.[3]

A prominent Jaina leader of Gērasoppe was Rāmaṇa. He was the son of Somaṇa Daṇṇāyaka and the brother of Kāmaṇa Daṇṇāyaka. Somaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka was one of the generals of the chieftain of Candāvūru, by name Basavadeva, who had become conspicuous in the history of Tuḷuva.[4] Since Somaṇa was said to have belonged to the Ksa-

1. *596 of 1905*; Rangacharya, *Top. List.* I. p. 545.
2. *E. C.* II. 274, 275, p. 125, *op. cit.*
3. *M. A. R. for 1928*, p. 97.
4. Read Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, I. p. 286.

triya *kula*, Rāmaṇa also claimed Kṣatriya descent. The damaged record which gives us these details describes thus the citizens of Gērasoppe :—*Ā Gerasoppeya mahā-janamgaḷa guṇagaḷ ent-endoḍe adaroḷu nānājāti paradar agraṇī samyaktvarāda-ī-Jainar-paḍevar Jaina-mārggāśraya jalanidhi samvardhita pūrṇa-candrar mundamam krodhādhi...mādudgha-perkuḷan-ivar-biṭṭu.* And one of these Jaina citizens was Honnapa Śeṭṭi who was related to the family of Rāmaṇa. It was this Honnapa Śeṭṭi and others, whose names are effaced in the record, who gave some grant to the Vardhamāna *basadi* of Gērasoppe.[1]

Another Jaina citizen of that centre was Yōjana Śeṭṭi, whose wife was Rāmakka. This lady had built the Anantatīrtha *caityālaya* at Gērasoppe. She is highly praised in the inscription for her virtues. She was especially known for her four kinds of gifts (*catur-vidha-dāna*). On her death in A.D. 1392 a memorial stone was set up near the Vardhamāna *basadi* at Gērasoppe.[2]

To this age (the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D.) we have to assign the activities of two commercial leaders of Gērasoppe—Ajaṇa, the son of Kallappa Śreṣṭhi and of Māmāmbā, and Kallappa Śreṣṭhi, the son of Ōjaṇa. These were the disciples of Devendra Sūri whose *guru* was Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka of the Deśiya *gaṇa* and Ghanaśoka *baḷi*. Ajaṇa and Kallappa Śeṭṭi caused an image of Mūḍejina to be made in the Nagarakēri *basadi* of that city.[3]

This record is undated. But we may assign it to the fourteenth century A.D. on the following grounds. Lalitakīrti, who has been mentioned here, was perhaps no other than

1. *M. A. R.* for 1928, p. 97.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.
3. *Ibid*, p. 95.

the *guru* of that name whom we have already placed in the fourteenth century. The name Ghanaśoka *baḷi* is evidently another name for the Panasōge (or Hanasōge) *baḷi* to which Lalitakīrti belonged.[1]

To the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., belong the following epigraphs dealing with a devout queen of Gērasoppe. She was Śāntaladevī, the daughter of Bommaṇa Seṭṭi, and the queen of Haivaṇṇarasa. This ruler was the son of king Mangarāja. Śāntaladevī was a very pious lady, who died in the orthodox manner in about A.D. 1405.[2]

The ruler Mangarāja mentioned above is called the son-in-law of king Haiveyarāja in the Jvālāmukhi temple record of Gērasoppe. He is to be identified with Mangabhūpa who married Jakkabbarasi, the daughter of Haivaṇṇarasa and Honnabbarasi, mentioned in the record standing close to Nagarakēri in Gērasoppe. This latter record dated A.D. 1421 also informs us that Mangarāja's brother-in-law Padmaṇṇarasa granted land valued at four *honnu* for the service of the god Pārśvanātha and for the repairs of the

1. Dr. Shama Sastry assigns this record to the latter part of the sixteenth century A.D., on the assumption that the names Kallappa and Ajaṇa are identical with those found in an inscription No. 112 (*M. A. R.* for 1928, p. 102). This is inadmissible. No. 112 does not contain the names Kallappa and Ajaṇa, but No. 105, p. 99, does. Secondly, the names Ajaṇa and Kallappa as given in No. 107 are those of commercial magnates; while in No. 105 Kallapparasa is called the ruler of Irandur and Ajaṇṛpa, king of Kuntalanāḍu. If these rulers were identical, one cannot understand why their status should have been omitted by the scribes.

2. This date is based on that of the death of Mangarāja in A.D. 1405. *M.A.R. for 1928*, pp. 99-100.

basadi. The gift was made for the peace of the departed queen Tangaladevī.[1]

An ardent ruler of Gērasoppe in A.D. 1523 was Immaḍi Deva Rāya Oḍeyar. He was the son of Bhairavāmbā and of the Pāṇḍya king who is unnamed in the record. Immaḍi Deva Rāya is called the popular Devabhūpa. The record makes him the ruler of the Nagiri (*i.e.*, Gērasoppe), Haive, Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, and other kingdoms. He granted in A.D. 1523 specified lands in the village of Baṇḍuvāḷa for the worship and festivals of the god Candranātha in the Śankha Jina *basadi* of Lakṣmaṇeśvara. This charity, it may be observed, was to be carried out by the school of Candraprabhadeva of the Deśiya *gaṇa.* The cosmopolitan nature of the people is seen in the concluding lines of the epigraph which declare that he who violated the grant was to be considered guilty of the slaughter of sages on the Ūrjanta hill, the slaughter of cows on the banks of the Ganges and the Godāvarī, and as having violated the charities carried on at Śrīparvata and Tirumale. Excepting Ūrjanta (Girnar), the other places are usually associated with the Brahmans.[2]

The close contact between Gērasoppe and other kingdoms seen in the above records, is further corroborated by another inscription found on the Govardhanagiri fort, and assigned to A.D. 1560. This record gives us very many details relating to the commercial magnates of Gērasoppe. The ruler mentioned in this inscription is Deva Rāya whom we identify with Immaḍi Deva Rāya on the following grounds. In the first place, in the Sode Jaina *maṭha* copper plate ins-

1. *M. A. R. for 1928,* pp. 94-95.
2. This copper-plate grant was found in the Jaina *basadi* of Sode. *M.A.R. for 1916,* p. 69.

cription Immaḍi Deva Rāya is said to have ruled over the prosperous city of Kṣemapura which was another name for Gērasoppe. In the Govardhanagiri record, too, he is said to be the ruler of Gērasoppe. The genealogy of the ruler as given in the Sode *maṭha* grant and in the Govardhanagiri inscription is identical. In the former it is said that the queen Bhairavāmbā had a brother named Sāluva Malla, that her son by the Pāṇḍya king was Immaḍi Deva Rāya. In the Govardhanagiri record it is stated that king Bhairava had three younger brothers named Bhairava, Amba, and Sāluva Malla who was the greatest. Their sister, who is unnamed in the Govardhanagiri record, had a son named Deva Rāya who had a sister, the mother of Sāluva Malla (II) and of Bhairava (II).[1] Further in both the records Sāluva Immaḍi Deva Rāya is said to be ruling over the Haiva, Tuḷu, Konkaṇa, and other countries, the Sode *maṭha* grant adding the name Nagirirājya. And, finally, both are essentially Jaina records.[2]

The Govardhanagiri inscription is of much importance also from the point of view of the chief city itself, its rich commercial leaders, and the public charities they did in the name of the Jina *dharma*. The Jaina citizens had made

1. The descent of the rulers of the Gērasoppe, Sangītapura, and probably of Kārkaḷa principalities, was according to the female succession (*aḷiya-santāna kaṭṭu*), through sister's son.

2. Perhaps it is not unlikely that the rulers of Gērasoppe, held sway over Sangītapura at this time. The similarity in their names, the Sāluva family to which they belonged, and the law of succession in the female line which governed them—all these point to it. The Gērasoppe, Kārkaḷa, and Sangītapura rulers were dynastically connected with each other. See Rangacharya, *Top. List*, II. p. 852. But this point is beside our purpose.

the city of Gērasoppe prosperous and beautiful. Thus is it described in the record :—

On the southern bank of the great lotus the Jambū-*dvīpa* is the Bharata country, in which, on the eastern shore of the western ocean is the great Tauḷava country. In it on the south bank of the Ambū river, shining like the Śrī-puṇḍra (or central sectarian mark on the forehead of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas) is Kṣemapura, like Purandara's (Indra's) city, with glittering *gopuras* (or temple towers) with fine Jina *caityālayas*, king's palaces, abodes of *yogis*, lines of merchants' houses, with crowds of people devoted to acts of merit and liberality, groups of *gurus* and *yatis*, bands of poets, learned men, multitudes of excellent Bhavyas—what city in the world was so celebrated as Gērasoppe?

The great city of Gērasoppe had reason to be proud of its kings and commercial leaders. The king Immaḍi Deva Rāya was "a master of all royal wisdom", and "skilled in the seven kinds of strategems." This description of the Gērasoppe ruler enables us to identify him with king Sāluva Deva Rāya, who is mentioned in the Kannaḍa-Sanskrit record on the base of the Śānti Jina image, now deposited in the Madras Museum, as a great lover of *sāhitya*. The image of Śānti Jina, we may note by the way, was set up by him.[1]

Sāluva Immaḍi Dēva Rāya was proud of his great commercial magnate Ambavana Śreṣṭhi. In the long genealogical account of this important person, these following facts seem to be noteworthy—That Ambavana Śreṣṭhi's ancestors traced their descent from a general who was in the service of the Candāvūru king Kāma Deva, by name Kāmeya Daṇṇāyaka; that one of Ambavana's ancestors named

1. *526 of 1913;* Rangacharya, *Top. List,* II. p. 987.

Yojana Śreṣṭhi (I) built the Anantanātha *caityālaya* at Gērasoppe, while another Narasaṇa Nāyaka constructed the Pārśvanātheśvara *basadi* at Māgōḍu ; that another person called Mābu Gauḍa built a *caityālaya* at Bankanabaḷilu ; that Yojana Śreṣṭhi (II) built a two-storeyed *caityālaya* of Nemīśvara and Gummaṭanātha in Gērasoppe ; and that another relative of theirs, the celebrated Kañcadhikāri, the chief of the Śeṭṭis of Bhaṭṭakaḷa, built a *caityālaya* in a place the name of which is effaced in the record.

Ambavana Śreṣṭhi who is called a royal *śresṭhi* in the record, was the son of Nāgappa Śreṣṭhi (II). He was matrimonially connected with Yojana Śreṣhṭi (II) mentioned above. His wife was Devarasi. In connection with these two we have a typical instance of how citizens constructed public buildings in those days. These two—Ambavana Śreṣṭhi and his wife, one day came to the Nemi Jina *caityālaya* at Gērasoppe, and heard with reverence the *dharma* from Abhinava Samantabhadramuni. They then decided to acquire merit by constructing a *mānastambha* in front of the Nemīśvara *basadi* built by their grandfather Yojana Śreṣṭhi. Then going home, with the approval of their brothers Koṭaṇa Śeṭṭi and Malli Śeṭṭi, and their other relatives, they made known their intention as to this work of merit to their ruler Deva Bhūpa. And with the approval of the king and that of the *sanghas* (which are unfortunately not named), on a propitious day they carried out their promise and had a pillar of bell-metal made. Meanwhile, to Devarasi twin daughters, Padmarasi and Devarasi, were born ; and taking that as an auspicious omen, they had the bell-metal pillar which had been made, set up in front of the *caityālaya.* And upon the pillar they fixed a golden *kalaśa* of the same height as that of the twins Padmarasi and Devarasi. The *mānasthambha*

thus created is highly praised in the record as a mast to the great ship the *dharma*, and a rod for the umbrella the pure *dharma*. It was constructed on the instruction of Abhinava Samantabhadramuni.[1]

Great credit must be given to the endeavours of Ambavana Śreṣṭhi and the other commercial leaders, who tried to stabilize the prestige of the Jina *dharma* in this age. We can only imagine that there must have been keen rivalry between these patrons of Jainism and the champions of Vaiṣṇavism like Giriyaṇa Śeṭṭi and Vaḍuga Tammappa Senabova, who in A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1598 respectively had constructed the Hanumanteśvara and Tiruvangaḷanātha temples, the former on Govardhanagiri itself and the latter in Gērasoppe. These two Hindu leaders lived in the reign of the next Gērasoppe ruler the queen Sāluva Cenna Bhairādevīyamma, who is called in one of the records a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, and who permitted the Tiruvangaḷanātha temple to be built in her name.[2]

That the Jaina magnates of Gērasoppe were very influential in the middle of the sixteenth century, can be determined from the reference made to their generosity in the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Indeed, this contact between Gērasoppe and Śravaṇa Belgoḷa seems to have been established in early days as well. For instance, in about A.D. 1412 Gummaṭaṇa, the disciple of Hiriya Ayya of Gērasoppe, paid a visit to Gummaṭanātha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, and repaired the stone work of the Cikka *basti* or the smaller hill, the three *bastis*, at the north gate, and the Mangāyi *basti*—in all five *bastis*, and made a gift of food to one group which

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 55, pp. 100-102.
2. *Ibid*, Sa. 57, p. 102; *M. A. R. for 1928*, pp. 102, 108.

is not named in the inscription.[1]

In A.D. 1539 four incidents of a similar nature relating to the citizens of Gērasoppe and Śravaṇa Belgoḷa are narrated in stone inscriptions found in the latter centre. All these refer to the settlement of a legal dispute between the citizens of the two places. Thus, in that year Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe having caused the mortgage on the land of Kambhayya, the son of Agaṇi Bommayya, to be released, the latter caused certain permanant charities to be endowed in front of the Tyāgada Brahmā temple at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. In the same year Cikkaṇa, the son of Doḍḍa Devappa, gave a *dharma sādhana* (charity deed) to Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe. This was because the latter had relieved the former of his financial difficulty. Cikkaṇa promised to carry on permanently the gift of food to one group at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. Further, Bommana, the son of Kavi, gave a charity deed to Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi for the same purpose. but with the stipulation that Bommaṇa would carry on the gift of food to one group only for six months. And the flower-seller Cennayya also gave to Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi a similar pledge which is however effaced.[2]

Is the mention of these legal deeds in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, pertaining to a wealthy citizen of Gērasoppe, merely accidental? We think not. There must have been a cause of great rejoicing on the part of the citizens of Gērasoppe which prompted them to show particular favour to the people of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. We have to find out what was that cause of rejoicing. It could only have been that relating to such a function like the anointing ceremony of the god Gummaṭanātha at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. An event of this

1. *E. C.* II. 342, p. 145.
2. *Ibid*, 224, 227, p. 96.

type actually took place about this time, and its credit goes to the Gērasoppe ruler Sāluva Immaḍi Deva Rāya. The Govardhanagiri record cited above tells us that by king Deva Rāya, lord of Kṣemapura, was performed in the Kali *yuga,* what had been done by the great Indra, the world-astounding head-anointing ceremony of Gummaṭādhīśa, in the same manner as if it were his birth-anointing.[1] We have no direct information as to the exact date of the performance of this ceremony in the Govardhanagiri record. But on the basis of the four cases of mortgage deeds by Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi of Gērasoppe, we may safely infer that the head-anointing ceremony of Gummaṭanātha by king Deva Rāya took place in A.D. 1539 which certainly falls within his reign. To express his joy at such an event of universal importance, Cavuḍi Śeṭṭi may have released the mortgage deeds of his debtors in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

The Jaina *gurus* of Gērasoppe, it may not be out of place to note here, wielded considerable influence in this age. Their relationship with the well known pontifical seats of Tuḷuva will be pointed out later on. For the present we may note that in A.D. 1583 they were reckoned to be rather wealthy too. This may account for the fact that Vīrasenadeva, the disciple of Guṇabhadradeva of Gērasoppe, purchased wet land of the sowing capacity of nine *khaṇḍugas* from the Dānivāsa chief Cennavīra Oḍeyar, for a sum of thirty-two *varāhas.* Two years later (A.D. 1585) the same Jaina priest Vīrasena bought for thirty *varāhas* another plot of land situated in Īcaladāḷa also from the same chief. And in A.D. 1585 once again Vīrasena purchased from the same Dānivāsa chief specified wet land for forty *varāhas.*[2] The reason why these

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 55, p. 101.

2. *M. A. R. for 1931*, pp. 106-112. See *E. C.* VI. Kp. 21-24, pp. 79 for an incomplete account of some of these transactions.

monetary transactions were made is not apparent.

We may now continue to narrate a few details about the other Jaina centres in the fifteenth century A.D. Bhārangi was one of them. Like Kuppaṭur and Gērasoppe, this city owed its greatness to the industrial activities of "wise Bhavyas, learned men, just men, and wealthy men, so that it seemed to be the abode of the goddess of fortune." It was one of the foremost cities of Nāgarakhaṇḍa, and it boasted of the great temple Pārśva Jineśa. The Vijayanagara official placed over this city was Gopa Gauḍa, whose father was Buḷḷa Gauḍa. The *guru* of the latter was Abhayacandra Siddhāntadeva who is called in the record *rāyarājaguru-maṇḍalācārya, mahāvādivadīśvara, rāyavādipitāmaha,* and one who was fully versed in *Siddhānta.* "His mind was bent on shutting up the Bauddha speakers. Having overcome the Sānkhyas, the Yaugas, the Cārvākas, the Bauddhas, the Bhāṭṭas, and the Prābhākas, what other speakers can withstand him?", asks the scribe of the record.

But he was not the *guru* of Gopaṇa Gauḍa whose spiritual teachers were Paṇḍitācārya and Śrutamunipa. The work these two Jaina *gurus* did is given in the epigraph thus—"One (Paṇḍitācārya) to turn Gopaṇa from evil ways, and the other (Śrutamuni) to lead him into good ways." Having enjoyed all the good of this world, and desiring the good of the next, Gopaṇa died by the rite of *samādhi* in A.D. 1415.[1]

Prabhu Gopaṇa's laudable example was followed by his son Buḷḷa (II). The *guru* of this official was Abhayacandra, who was the disciple of Devacandramuni whose *guru* was Śrutamuni mentioned above. From this record we learn that the spiritual adviser of Bhārangi belonged to the Mūla *sangha,* Nandi *gaṇa,* Pustaka *gaccha,* and Deśiya *gaṇa.* Buḷḷappa

1. *E. C.* VIII. Sa. 329, p. 58.

(II) made gifts of land and constructed ponds (*dīrghikā*). Having realized that his end was approaching, he performed all the appointed ceremonies relating to the *pañcaparameṣṭhis*, and beginning with the prayer of 35 syllables, he came down to 16; then to 6, to 5, to 4, to 2, and stopped at 1, when merely moving his tongue, he went to *svarga*.[1]

Two villages Saragūru and Varakōḍu in the Mysore district became rather noteworthy in the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. Saragūru possessed the Pañcabasadi about which we have no details. But we suppose that that *basadi* was under the Bayināḍ chief Masanahaḷḷi Kampaṇa Gauḍa. This chief was a *Mahāprabhu*, and he granted in A.D. 1424 the village of Tōṭahaḷḷi, along with many specified taxes, for the decorations of Gummaṭanāthasvāmi of Belgoḷa.[2] The inscriptions of Varakōḍu dated A.D. 1425 and A.D. 1431, are interesting in the sense that they deal with the performance of a *vrata* called Ananta *nompi* by the Jainas of that place.[3]

Morasunāḍu A.D. 1426 contained the Cokkamayya *Jinālaya* for which the ruler of that *nāḍ* Kariyappa Daṇḍanāyaka granted lands which are effaced in the record. But we know from it that that official was the disciple of Śubhacandra Siddhānta of the Pustaka *gaccha*.[4]

Infinitely greater in importance than the above seats of Jainism was Mūḍubidre, one of the cities of Tuḷuva. We have elsewhere traced the advent of Jainism into this city in the reign of the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Deva I (A.D.

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sb. 330, text, ll. 25-28, p. 156.
2. *Ibid*, IV. Hg. 1, p. 65.
3. *M. A. R. for 1920*, p. 32.
4. *E. C.* IX., Bn. 82, p. 17.

1100-A.D-1106).[1] In the thirteenth century A.D. Mūḍubidre possessed the Pārśvanātha *basadi* which received royal patronage from the Ālupa kings of Tuḷuva.[2] But it is only in the fifteenth century that it sprang into fame in the times of the Vijayanagara monarchs. A stone inscription dated Śaka 1351 (A.D. 1429) of the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II relates that Veṇupura, (*i. e.*, Mūḍubidre) was a city distinguished for its Bhavyas, who followed the right path, who gladly performed deeds of virtue, and who were eager to hear stories relating to the Jina *dharma*. The local ruler Bhairarasa, who was matrimonially connected with the kings who ruled over the Gērasoppe-Nagiri kingdom, made at the instance of his *guru* Vīrasenamuni certain specified offerings in the Candra Jina *mandira* at Mūḍubidre.[3] In A.D. 1451-2 a *mukha-maṇṭapa* called Bhairādevī *maṇṭapa* was built to the Hosa *basti* during the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperor Mallikārjuna Immaḍi Deva Rāya (A.D. 1446-A.D. 1467), when the viceroy over the Bārakūru-rājya was Gopaṇa Oḍeyar.[4] And the same *basadi* received a grant of land from the viceroy Viṭṭharasa Oḍeyar during the reign of the Emperor Virūpākṣa in A.D. 1472-3.[5]

1. Saletore, *Ancient Karnātaka*, I, pp. 410-411. Mr. V. Lokanatha Śāstri of Mūḍubidre in his book *Mūḍubidreya carite* (p. 20, Mangalore, 1937) says that the date of the construction of the image of Pārśvanātha is given in an inscription on its base, as Śaka 636 (A.D. 714). I do not know how far this is accurate information. This date, if true, violates all contemporary history of Jainism not only in Tuḷuva but in Karnāṭaka as well.
2. Saletore, *ibid*, p. 413.
3. *33 of 1901;* S. I. I, VII, pp. 94-98.
4. *29 of 1901.*
5. *30 of 1901;* for a detailed account of Mūḍubidre, read Hultzsch, *Ep. Rep. S. Circle for 1901*, p. 3 seq.



By Courtesy V. G. S.]

Hosabasti at Mūḍabidre (p. 352)



By Courtesy V. G. S.]

Caturmukhabasti at Kārkaḷa (p. 363)

Mūḍubidre to-day contains a fast dwindling Jaina population, but it is still held in the highest veneration by the Jaina world. It is called Jaina Kāśi, and has the other names of Veṇupura (or Vaṁśapura) and Vratapura. There are in all eighteen *basadis* in this small town, and among them the most famous is the Guru *basadi*. This *basadi* is reputed to possess the famous manuscripts called *Dhavaḷa*, *Mahādhavaḷa* and *Jayadhavaḷa*. It is for this reason also called the Siddhānta *basadi*.[1] The Hosa *basadi* referred to above is also known as the Tribhuvantilakacūḍāmaṇī *basadi* ; and because of its 1,000 pillars and other architectural attractions, still continues to draw lovers of art.[2]

Another centre of Jainism in Tuḷuva was Basarūru. The Śeṭṭis, or heads of the commercial guilds, of Basarūru in Śaka 1353 (A.D. 1421-2), during the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II, gave specified gifts in kind for the Jaina *basadi* of that town.[3] This *basadi* was probably dedicated to Candranātha. For during the reign of the same monarch a money gift of twenty-four *gadyāṇas* was made to it.[4]

Turning from the province of Tuḷuva to the northern parts of Karnāṭaka, we find that Kolhāpur (Kollāpura) owed its greatness to the renowned *guru* Māghanandi. We have already seen that Kollāpura had become well known in the twelfth and thirteenth century A.D. It continued to be a great seat of Jainism in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. In about A.D. 1440 the *guru* of that centre was

1. Buchanan noted it. *A Journey through Madras*, etc., II. p. 254.

2. Cf. B. Nemiraja Heggaḍe, *Tuḷunāḍina basadigaḷu*, p. 3. (Manglore, 1925) ; Lokanatha Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

3. Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, II, p. 850.

4. *Ibid.*

Jinasena Bhaṭṭāraka Paṭṭācārya. Along with the people of that city and his *sangha*, he went to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in that year.[1]

The hill called Niḍugallu in the Pāvagūḍa tāluka, Mysore State, once contained a *basadi*. Here in A.D. 1232 Nemi Paṇḍita's son (unnamed) had received the land belonging to it.[2] This locality continued to be dear to the Jainas, in spite of the fact that the land around the *basadi* had passed into the hands of the Hindus in the middle of the fifteenth century. This is proved by the fact that in about A.D. 1450 the hill is called the *guḍḍa* which belonged to Vṛṣabhasena Bhaṭṭāraka of the Mūla *sangha*. One of his lay disciples called Candavve, the wife of the Vaiśya Bīmi Śeṭṭi, died there, and a *niśidhi* was set up to commemorate the event.[3]

Towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., we find Iduvaṇi, Huligeṛe, Vogeyakere, Hoḷe Narasīpura, and even Melukōṭe figuring as prominent Jaina centres. That Iduvaṇi (or Idugaṇi) owed its *caityālayas* to the piety of its local ruler is clear from a record dated A.D. 1472 which informs us that Pārīśva Gauḍa, who was devoted to the four kinds of gifts, had the Pārśvanātha *basadi* constructed in that city. And his lord the *Mahāprabhu* Bhairaṇa Nāyaka granted various lands for the daily worship and the many kinds of worship (named) of the god. And Pārīśva Gauḍa and other Gauḍas made suitable grants for the same purpose.[4]

Like Pārīśva Gauḍa was Padumaṇa Śeṭṭi who, during the

1. *E. C.* II. 496, p. 134.
2. *Ibid*, XII. Pg. 51, p. 124.
3. *Ibid*, Pg. 56, p. 126. See also Pg. 55 dated A.D. 1487 to note the Śaivite temple on the hill.
4. *Ibid*, VIII. Sa. 60, p. 103.

rule of king Indagarasa Oḍeyar of the Sāluva family, constructed the *caityālaya* of Pārśvatīrtheśvara at Vogeyakere. And by means of a *dharma-śāsana-patra* gave munificent endowments for the *basadi.*[1]

Hoḷe Narasīpura in A.D. 1490 was a Jaina locality. Two images in marble of Candraprabha and Pārśvanātha were presented in that year to the temple by a disciple of Bhaṭṭāraka Jinasatvadeva of the Mūla *sangha.*[2]

More interesting than the above is the information relating to the Vaiṣṇava centre Mēlukōṭe where had lived the great Rāmānujācārya. In a record dated A.D. 1471 this centre is called the earthly Vaikuṇṭha, the Vardhamānakṣetra, the eight-fold residence of Nārāyaṇaparvata, and the Yatigiristhāna. The epithet *Vardhamāna kṣetra* applied to this place undoubtedly proves that Mēlukōṭe was once reckoned to be a place of pilgrimage by the Jainas.[3] But like many other strongholds of Jainism, Mēlukōṭe must have passed into the custody of the Hindus, on the decline of the Jina *dharma* in it.

In the sixteenth century A.D. there seems to have been no extension of Jaina influence anywhere in southern or western India. The two most important sects of Hinduism —Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, especially the latter,—had so completely regained their ascendancy that any substantial recovery of Jainism was well nigh impossible in the Vijayanagara Empire. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe that in this century which produced Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, the greatest champion of Hinduism, was also born the most remarkable leader of the Jainas, Vādi Vidyānanda. In addi-

1. *E. C.* VIII, Sa. 163, p. 124.
2. *M. A. R. for 1913-14*, p. 50.
3. *E. C.* IV. Intr. p. 24 ; Ng. 78, p. 133.

tion to the well known city from which this celebrated Jaina teacher hailed, there were others which we may now describe in chronological order.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century three places continued to be Jaina centres--Kopaṇa, Narasimharājapura, and Śringeri. Kopaṇa had, as we have already seen, won for itself a name as the *mahātīrtha* of the Jainas. It continued to be a commercial town of some standing. This is gathered from the fact that commercial leaders named Gummaṭa Śeṭṭi, Danada Śeṭṭi, and a third one whose name is effaced in the record, went on a visit from Kopaṇa to Śravaṇa Belgoḷa in about A.D. 1536.[1]

Of the other centres, there is every reason to believe that Śringeri was a more ancient Jaina stronghold than Narasimharājapura. The history of the latter place dates back to the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. We gather this from an epigraph on the image of Śāntinātha in the Śāntinātha *basadi* in that place, assigned to A.D. 1300. This image was caused to be made by Candiyakka, the lay disciple of Cagiyabbeganti of Uddhare.[2] Narasimharājapura was a prosperous Jaina centre at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Two inscriptions on the pedestal of the Caturviṁśati Tīrthankara and the Ananta Tīrthankara images in the Candranātha *basadi* at the same place, contain the following information—That Doḍḍaṇa Śeṭṭi, the son of Bōgāra Devi Śeṭṭi, had the former image presented to the Candranātha *basadi* at Narasimharājapura; while Gummaṇa Śeṭṭi, the son of Nemi Śeṭṭi, had the latter image presented to the *basadi* at Singanagadde which lies to the west of Narasimharājapura.

1. *E. C.* II, 191, p. 91.
2. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 84.

Both the inscriptions have been assigned to A.D. 1500.[1] We may note here by the way that the fine image of Candraprabha in the Candranātha *basadi*, about two and a half feet high, representing a seated boy of about eight years, and made of white marble, as Dr. Krishna relates, is said to have been found near Taḍasa, four miles away, in the Bhadrā, and brought to the *basadi* for worship. The image is said to bear even now the marks of having been in water for a long time.[2]

But the *basadis* in the renowned Advaita centre of Śringeri were, as we have already seen in the previous pages, of an earlier date. At least we know that the Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Śringeri certainly existed in Śringeri in the twelfth century A.D. The fact that this *basadi* is in the centre of the Śringeri town,[3] suggests that the Jaina influence in this stronghold of Advaitism must have been rather powerful in the early days. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Śringeri continued to attract devout Jaina pilgrims to it. In A.D. 1523 Devana Śeṭṭi (descent stated) presented an image of Anantnātha to the Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Śringeri. And in the same year Bommara Śeṭṭi (descent stated) presented an image of Candranātha to the same *basadi*.[4]

Maddagiri had a *basadi* in about A.D. 1531. It received specified land from Govi Dānimayya's wife Jayama. Nothing more can be made about this *basadi* excepting the fact that

1. *M. A. R. for 1916*, p. 84.
2. *Ibid for 1931*, p. 12. Dr. Krishna also relates that a group of Jaina buildings near the Jvālāmālinī temple to the south-west of Narasimharājapura, are almost entirely of wood and earth. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid for 1931*, p. 15.
4. *Ibid for 1933*, p. 124. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya assigned this record to A.D. 1583. *Ibid for 1916*, p. 84.

the damaged record gives the name of the *guru* as Mallināthadeva.[1]

From another damaged record dated A.D. 1533-4, evidently of the reign of the Emperor Acyuta Deva Rāya, we gather that Jinendramangalam *alias* Kuruvaḍimidi...in Muttūrukurram and Añjukoṭṭai in the same Kurram were Jaina centres. The inscription containing these details was found in front of the Jaina Malavanātha temple at Hanumantaguḍi, Tiruvādāni tāluka, Rāmnāḍ district.[2]

But these centres in the Tamil land were not in such a thriving condition as those in Karnāṭaka. The *basadi* of Kurugoḍu, for instance, received a gift of land from Rāma Rājayya, the elder brother of Lingarājayya, and the grandson of Rāma Rāja Oḍeyar. This was made for the merit of his father Mallarāja Oḍeyar during the reign of the Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya.[3]

Paṇḍitayya, the son of the chief of Brahmans Cikamayya, and a disciple of Cārukīrti Paṇḍitadeva, caused in A.D. 1585 the images of Ādīśvara, Śāntīśvara, and Candranātha to be set up in the Ādinātha *basadi* at Cikka Hanasōge,[4] thereby showing that Cikka Hanasōge was still reckoned as a Jaina centre in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.[5]

But more prominent than any of the strongholds in the northern parts of Karnāṭaka were those in Tuḷuva to which we must now revert. In addition to the important cities

1. *E. C.* XII. Si. 14, p. 105.
2. *408 of 1907* ; Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, II, p. 1196.
3 *63 of 1904* ; Rangacharya, *ibid.*, I, p. 269.
4. *M. A. R. for 1913-14*, pp. 50-51.
5. See also *59 of 1896*, for a gift of land at the request of two Jaina priests Guru Vīra Paṇḍita and Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita. This was in A.D. 1517. Was Nagarcoil in the south in any way connected with Jainism ?

like Sangītapura, Mūḍubidre, and Gērasoppe which we have already described, there were many smaller places of the Jainas in Tuḷuva, as, for instance, Bārakūru, Mūlki, Paḍa-Paṇambūru, Haṭṭiaṅgaḍi and Kāpu. The Ādi Parameśvara *basadi* of Bārakūru, which city was one of the capitals of Tuḷuva, received material aid from the Śāntara king Bhairava in A.D. 1408.[1] To the same *basadi* Cārukīrti Paṇḍitadeva made a grant in A.D. 1499-1500.[2] The *basadis* at Mūlki and Paḍa-Paṇambūru in the Mangalore tāluka, were not of much consequence. The Bailangaḍi *basadi* at the latter place seems to have received a gift from a nobleman in A.D. 1542-3.[3] The *basadi* of Lokanātheśvara at Haṭṭiangaḍi, however, was more important. It received a grant from a Vijayanagara viceroy in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D.[4] It is not improbable that the locality around Haṭṭiaṅgaḍi was of some antiquity.[5]

Perhaps equally important as Haṭṭiangaḍi was Kāpu in the Uḍipi tāluka. This little town was the seat of a petty chieftain who had the title of *Heggaḍe.* In A.D. 1556 Madda Heggaḍe of the Pāngāḷa lineage was a staunch upholder of the Jina *dharma* It was he who gave in that year the village of Mallāru to Devacandradeva, the disciple of Municandradeva whose *guru* was Abhinavavādikīrtideva of the Krāṇūr *gana.* This gift was made for the offerings of Jinapa Dharmanātha (the fifteenth Tīrthankara) of Kāpu. What strikes us is not so much the patronage which the petty ruler of Kāpu gave to the *basadi* of Jinapa Dharmanātha, as the manner in which he associated his own

1-2. Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka,* I, p. 415.
3. *82-84 of 1901.*
4. Rangacharya, *Top. List.*, II, p. 851.
5. Saletore, *ibid,* I, pp. 405-406.

little town with the great Jaina centre of Belgoḷa, Kopaṇa, and Ūrjantagiri. This is revealed in the concluding lines of the grant which contain the imprecation that any Jaina who violated the charity would incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummaṭanātha of Belgoḷa, Candranātha of Kopaṇa, and Nemīśvara of Ūrjantagiri, and other Jaina images. The definite reference to three well known centres—Kopaṇa, Belgoḷa, and Ujjantagiri—suggests that the people of Kāpu were very well acquainted with those places of pilgrimage. While the concluding lines of the same grant which relate that if the violator was a Śaiva, he would incur the sin of breaking a crore of *lingas* at Parvata, Gokarṇa, and elsewhere, and if a Vaiṣṇava, of breaking as many images at Tirumale and other Vaiṣṇava holy places, show that the chieftain of Kāpu was prepared to appeal to the better instincts of his non-Jaina subjects who might be inclined to harm his charity.[1]

Next to Mūḍubidre the most important Jaina centre in Tuḷuva was Kārkaḷa. The history of this principality of Kārkaḷa is interwoven with that of the Śāntaras of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura on the Ghats. The first prominent figure in the Śāntara House was Jinadatta, who, as we have already noted above, is reputed to have brought with him the image of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī.[2] Jinadatta Rāya founded the Śāntara kingdom in the ninth century A.D.[3] with Paṭṭi Pombuccapura as his capital; and he moved down in the same century to Kalaśa (in the Mūḍgere tāluka) in the south after extending his kingdom. Here at Kalaśa the Śāntara rulers gave expression to their tolerant

1. *E.I.* XX, pp. 95-97.
2. Rice, *My. & Coorg*, p. 138.
3. Saletore, *Ancient Karnatāka*, I. pp. 224-225, 225, n. (1).

views. This is seen, for instance, from a record dated A.D. 1277 of the time of the senior crowned queen Kāḷala Mahādevī, when on the great days of the gods Kalaśanātha and Jineśvara, a citizen named Mādhava, the son of Kāla Seṭṭi, made a specified grant of rice and land to the gods.[1]

The Śāntaras moved their capital from Kalaśa still further down to Kārkaḷa somewhere at the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. One of the chiefs who materially contributed to the spread of Jainism in this age in Tuḷuva was Lokanātharasa. He was the disciple of Cārukīrti Paṇḍitadeva, who had, among other titles, that of *Ballāḷarāya-cittacamatkāra.* During the regíme of Lokanātharasa in Śaka 1256 (A.D. 1334), his elder sisters Bommaladevī and Somaladevī, along with some prominent State officials among whom figured Allappa Adhikāri, gave specified grants to the *basadi* of Śāntinātha at Kārkaḷa which had been built by Kumudacandra Bhaṭṭārakadeva, the chief disciple of Bhānukirtī Maladhārideva of the Mūla *sangha* and the Krāṇūr *gaṇa.* Since Lokanātharasa bears the *birudas* of *samastabhuvanāśraya, śrī-pṛthvīvallabha,* and *mahārājādhirāja,* which were usually assumed only by independent monarchs, we are to suppose that he exercised some independent sway in the Kārkaḷa region in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.[2]

Sometime after him the Kārkaḷa rulers came gradually under the influence of the Lingāyat faith.[3] But they continued to be warm supporters of the Jina *dharma.* We prove this from records ranging from the middle of the fif-

1. *E.C.* VI. Mg. 67, p. 72.
2. *71 of 1901; S.I.I.*, VII, 247, pp. 124-125.
3. See *E.C.* VI. Mg. 39-42, 50, 54, 60, pp. 68-70 for examples to prove that the Bhairava rulers of Kārkaḷa were Śaivas.

teenth to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. The credit of turning the mind of the Kārkaḷa rulers to the *syād vāda* doctrine goes to the Jaina *gurus* of Hanasōge. It was at the instance of Lalitakīrti Maladhārideva Bhaṭṭāraka of Hanasōge that king Vīra Pāṇḍya, the son of Bhairavendra, caused to be constructed and set up the colossal image of Gomaṭa at Kārkaḷa, to which reference has already been made, on Wednesday the 13th A.D. 1432.[1] Probably it is the same *guru* who is mentioned in another inscription dated Śaka 1379 (A.D. 1457-8) which records a gift of paddy to the Hire Nemīśvara *basadi* at Hiriaṅgaḍi, one of the suburbs of Kārkaḷa. In this record Lalitakīrti is said to have belonged to the Kālorgaṇa.[2] The same *guru* was likewise responsible for the munificence of the merchants of Hiriaṅgaḍi, who in A.D. 1475-76 built a *mukha-maṇṭapa* to the Tīrthankara *basadi* of that place.[3]

We may recount here the patronage given to Jainism by the queen Kāḷala Devī in A.D.1530 mentioned in connection with the activities of women in Karnāṭaka.[4]

But much of the importance of Kārkaḷa was due not only to the patronage of its rulers but to the large-heartedness of its citizens as well. In Śaka 1501 (A.D. 1579) some Śrāvakas of Kārkaḷa gave as a gift money for the study of the scriptures in the Ammanavara *basadi* at Hiriaṅgaḍi. Lalitakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka is said to have been the *vicāra-kartā* (superintendent) of the charities.[5] This *guru* could not have been

1. *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 119; *E. C.* I, p. 19 (rev. ed.); *E. I.*, VII, pp. 109, seq; *63 & 64 of 1901.*
2. *70 of 1901.*
3. *66 of 1901..*
4. *E. C.* VI. Kp. 47, op. cit.
5. *67 of 1901.*

the one mentioned above, but probably one of the pontiffs at Kārkaḷa itself who bore the title of Lalitakīrti.

The construction of the well known Caturmukha *basadi* at Kārkaḷa was the work of the ruler Immaḍi Bhairavendra Oḍeyar, who called himself the ruler of Paṭṭi Pombuccapura. This *basadi* was completed on Wednesday the 16th March A.D. 1586.[1] It cannot be made out whether he is the same Bhairarasa Oḍeyar who is mentioned in a damaged record dated only in the cyclic year Viḷambi, and found in the Hire Nemīśvara *basadi* at Hiriaṅgaḍi.[2] But he is evidently the same ruler who in A.D. 1598 granted specified lands for the god Pārśvanātha of the Sādhana *caityālaya* at Koppa. This god had been set up by a citizen named Pāṇḍya Nāyaka, who had himself granted some lands to provide for the offerings of the god.[3]

With the seventeenth century A.D., however, we move along the downward career of the Vijayanagara Empire. In a sense this age is also one of comparative insignificance in the history of Jainism in southern India. However, the *anekāntamata* had taken deep roots in Tuḷuva. That is the reason why we see Vēṇūru, a little village in the Kārkaḷa tāluka, figuring as the headquarters of a line of petty chiefs and at the same time as the seat of Jainism. It was here at Vēṇūru that, as mentioned by us above, a gigantic image of Gomaṭa was set up in A.D. 1604 at the orders of Timmarāja, the brother of a ruler called Pāṇḍya of the family of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, on the advice of Cārukīrti Paṇḍita of Belgoḷa.[4] Thus did the distant province of Tuḷuva vindi-

1. *62 of 1901*; *E. I.* VIII, pp. 122-138.
2. *69 of 1901.*
3. *E. C.* VI, Kp. 50, p. 86.
4. *E. I.* VIII, pp. 109-113; *E. C.* I, pp. 19-20 (rev. ed.); Rice, *My & Coorg*, p. 141.

sate her honour in the Jaina world by possessing two out of the three famous colossi of Gomaṭa.[1]

Reverting to Karnāṭaka proper we find that Mēḷige was of some consequence to the Jainas in the first quarter of the seventeenth century A.D. Mēḷige was in the Kōḍurpāḷ in the Āvanyadeśa over which the Vijayanagara viceroy Bommaṇa Heggaḍe ruled in A.D. 1610, in the reign of the Emperor Venkaṭapati Deva. In this city of Mēḷige was the royal Śreṣṭhi Vardhamāna whose son Bommaṇa Śreṣṭhi erected the Ananta Jina temple, probably at the instance of his *guru* Viśalakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka, whose *guru* was Devendra Bhaṭṭāraka of the Balātkāra *gaṇa*.[2]

An interesting fact in the history of Jainism in the seventeenth century A.D. is that connected with the famous Hindu centre of Bēlūr. This city which has become celebrated in the history of Indian architecture as the home of some of the most beautiful Hindu temples in the country, seems to have been dear also to the Jainas. When exactly it was turned into a centre of the *anekāntamata* is not known. But there is every reason to believe that from the beginning of the fourteenth till the middle of the seventeenth century A.D., Bēlūr protected the interests of the Jina *dharma*. It boasted of the Pārśvanātha, Ādinātheśvara, and Śāntinātheśvara

1. Ṭuḷuva to-day possesses about 180 *basadis* out of which Mūḍubidre and Kārkaḷa claim 18 each, Baṇṭavāḷa 3, Hāḍuhaḷḷi (Sangītapura) 9, Gērasoppe 4, Veṇūru 8, Mūlki-Hosangaḍi 8, and other places 101, excluding the 11 recently constructed *basadis*. 18 *basadis* have fallen completely in ruins. These are the *basadis* at Nerambadi Hoḷe, Mogaru, Deśīl, Śirāḍi, Yeṇugallu, Kannarpāḍi, Pañja, Cekkangaḍi, Bandāḍi, Kombāru, Nandāvara, Uccila, Ullāḷa, and Mūlki-Hosangaḍi. Nemirāja Heggade, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

2. *E. C.* VIII. Tl. 166, p. 196, 197.

basadis which have yielded interesting epigraphs relating to the Jaina *gurus* of the first quarter of the fourteenth century A.D.[1] Bēlūr was the head quarters of the Inguḷeśvara *baḷi* and the *Śrī samudāya* attached to the Mūla *sangha* and the Dēśiya *gaṇa*.[2] How influential the Jaina Śeṭṭis, or commercial leaders of Bēlūr were has already been seen while describing the admirable manner in which the grave dispute between the Lingāyats and the Jainas was settled in A.D. 1638, during the regíme of Venkaṭādri Nāyaka of Bēlūr.[3]

Towards the close of the Vijayanagara age, we have a Jaina priest called Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka, who styled himself the Lord of the spiritual thrones of Diḷḷi, Kollāpura, Jaina Kāśi, and Penugoṇḍa. It was a lay disciple of this *guru* by name Sakkare Śeṭṭi, who had the Vimalanātha *caityālaya* at Nāgamangala constructed in A.D. 1680.[4] How far the claims put forward by the scribe on behalf of Lakṣmīsena Bhaṭṭāraka as regards the lordship of the spiritual thrones of the places mentioned above, are valid, cannot be determined at present. But Penugoṇḍa was, indeed, a Jaina centre. Here was the Pārśvanātha *basadi*. Near about it is a *niśidhi* of Nāgayya, the disciple of Jinabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka.[5] We shall prove in the next chapter that Penugoṇḍa had further claims to be called a home of the Jainas.

1. See above. Chapter VI. Popular Support.
2. *E. C.* V. Bl 134, op. cit.
3. *Ibid*, Bl. 128, op. cit.
4. *Ibid*, IV. Ng. 43, p. 125.
5. *345 of 1901.*

CHAPTER XII.

JAINA CELEBRITIES IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

Features of Jaina architecture—Jaina contribution to Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Kannaḍa literature—Examples of Jaina writers ranging from the early fourteenth till the middle of the seventeenth century.

WIDESPREAD as the domicile of Jainism certainly was in the Vijayanagara Empire, it must be admitted that so far as political power was concerned, the *anekāntamata* had judiciously given the place of prominence to the Hindu *dharma*. And while the Hindu *dharma* under Vijayanagara succeeded for nearly three centuries in upholding its prestige and the honour of the land, Jainism had retired into the background to devote itself exclusively for the cause of Peace and Learning. Its success was ensured in this field. For more than any other faith, Jainism was essentially a religion which had advocated Peace. And in the Tamil land, the Āndhradeśa, and Karnāṭaka it had for centuries, as we have already seen, carefully created and fostered literature, arts, and science. The fact that its leaders had occasionally rejuvenated political life was incidental ; their primary concern lay in advancing the cause of Peace and Knowledge, while that of their lay disciples, in giving a practical expression to the Jaina ideal of human brotherhood in the shape

of the four well known gifts of food, shelter, medicine, and learning.

But it should not be understood by this that Jainism contributed nothing for the material welfare of the country. In addition to the kingdoms it had founded or helped to stabilize, it had substantially added to the commercial development of the land. We may remember here the fact that the famous trading classes of Karnāṭaka, the Vīra Baṇajigas, before and even after their conversion into the Vīra Śaiva faith, were responsible for the prosperous condition of the many cities of the Vijayanagara Empire. And during the early period of Vijayanagara expansion, it was the Jaina generals like Irugappa who had helped the Hindu cause in southern India. An equally substantial part of the work of the Jainas was that concerning arts, literature, and medicine in the respective fields of which they have left evidence of their sincere desire to promote Knowledge and the welfare of humanity.

We have had an occasion of briefly alluding to the contribution of the Jainas to the architecture of the pre-Vijayanagara period. Some of the marked features which distinguish the southern from the northern school of architectural design are those relating to the *basadis*, the tombs, and the pillars. The Jainas of the south, who belonged mostly to the Digambara sect, added one speciality in the matter of building *basadis* (Skt. *vasati*, a temple which contained an image of one of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras), and images, which has become famous in the history of Indian architecture. They constructed huge monolithic statues of Bāhubali, as already mentioned by us, at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, Kārkaḷa, and Vēṇūru. These statutes possess certain peculiarities. Entirely naked, they face the north, with a remarkably severe face with twigs or creeping plants (called *mādhavī*, known in Kannaḍa as *kāḷa*

guḷaguñji) twisted round their arms and legs in the manner found in cave temples, and a serpent (*kukkuṭa-sarpa*) at their feet.[1] They represent the ideal *saṁnyāsin* who stood in meditation until the ant-hills arose at his feet and creeping plants grew round his limbs. The Digambaras call him Gomaṭa, Gummaṭa, or Dorbali—a figure who is not at all prominent in the pantheon of the Śvetāmbaras of the north.

Of the *basadis* built in the Vijayanagara age those at Mūḍubidre deserve a passing note. These *basadis* are much plainer structures than Hindu temples, with their pillars that look like logs of wood, their angles partially chambered off, suggesting that their originals were built of wood. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that there is epigraphic evidence which we have already cited in the previous pages, that shows that the earlier *basadis* were built of wood. Fergusson rightly remarks that nothing can exceed the richness or variety with which the temples of Mūḍubidre are carved. Their ornamentation is almost fantastic, and no two pillars are alike in design and beauty.[2]

The eighteen *basadis* of Mūḍubidre are not the only specimens of the architectural skill of the Jainas of the Vijayanagara age. The five-pillared shrine opposite the *basadi* at Guruvāyinakere in Tuḷuva, about which unfortunately no details are available in epigraphs, is said to be unique in the history of the southern Jaina architectural school. This five-pillared shrine with access to the upper chambers, is so unlike the four-pillared pavilions of the Hindu temples common in southern India. At the base of the temple are a number

1. Of the three famous statues that at Vēṇūru is, I think, uncommonly serene and smiling.

2. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II. pp. 76-79. (rev. ed.)

of stones bearing images of serpents some of which have five or seven heads.[1]

The second noteworthy feature of Jaina architecture concerns the pillars which are found attached to the *basadis*. They are admittedly the most elegant and graceful architectural specimens found in Tuḷuva. They appear to be the counterparts of the *dīpastambhas* found in the Hindu temples ; but in reality are the descendants of the Buddhist pillars which bore, in most instances, emblems, or statues, or figures of animals. The Jainas of the south introduced two kinds of pillars—the *Brahmadevastambhas*, bearing figures of the god Brahmā, and the *mānastambhas*, which bear a small pavilion on the capital.[2] The *Brahmadevastambhas* are best seen at Mūḍubidre, and the *mānastambhas*, at Guruvāyinakere and Haḷeangaḍi. These latter starting from a square at the base change into an octagon, and thence into a polygonal figure approaching a circle, with a wide spreading capital of the most elaborate design above.

One singularity of the pillars, especially those found at Mūḍubidre, may be mentioned here. They have on the lower or square part curious interlaced basket patterns which, according to Fergusson, are similar to those found in Irish Mss. and the ornaments of the Irish cresses. Such interlaced work was equally common in Armenia and up the Danube in Central Europe. But how it came to be introduced into Tuḷuva is not known.[3]

A third peculiarity of the Jaina architecture of the Vijayanagara age is that relating to the tombs of priests and merchants in the neighbourhood of Mūḍubidre. Varying

1. Fergusson, *op. cit.* II, pp. 76-79,
2. *E. I.* VIII, p. 123 ; Fergusson *ibid.* II, p. 81.
3. Fergusson, *ibid,* II, pp. 79-82.

much in size and magnificence, some being from three to five or seven storeys in height, they are not ornamented like the storeys of the Dravidian temples with tumulated cells, but finish with the domical roof, with divisions of each storey into a sloping roof after the style of the pagodas of Kāṭhamaṇḍu, China, and Tibet. Such tombs are unknown to other parts of India.[1]

These novelties in design and structure are the gifts of the Jainas of the mediæval times to the history of Indian architecture. Turning to the sphere of literature and religion, we find that there was a feeble echo of the revival of Jainism in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. This is not surprising when we remember that Jainism had often given ample proof of its vitality in the course of its history. The various Jaina teachers whom we have mentioned in our review of Jainism under Vijayanagara were no doubt partly responsible for the continuance of that religion in the Vijayanagara age. In addition to these there were other teachers some of whom deserve special mention. Bāhubali Paṇḍitadeva, the disciple of Nayakīrtideva, was one such remarkable Jaina teacher. We shall presently refer to the contribution of this learned Jaina *guru* for the cause of Kannaḍa literature.

But more conspicuous than him were the teachers who spread the name of the Jina *dharma* even in the court of the Sultans of Delhi. Details about these, and about another celebrated figure to be mentioned presently, are met with in the Padmāvatī *basti* record. This long and interesting inscription contains a detailed account of many Jaina *gurus*, three of whom fall within our period—Simhakīrti, Viśalakīrti, and Vādi Vidyānanda. We have discussed in full the history of

1. Fergusson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 79-82.

the two former Jaina *gurus* elsewhere.[1] Here it is sufficient to narrate the following—That Simhakīrti, the great logician, is said to have won renown in the court of the Delhi Sultan Mahamuda who was no other than Sultan Muhammad Tuglāq. The Jina teacher is expressly stated to have defeated the company of Bauddha and other speakers in the Delhi court. This success of Simhakīrti in the court of the Delhi Sultan may be placed between A.D. 1326 and A.D. 1337.

His successor Viśalakīrti was a foremost orator, learned in the *Parāgama,* chief head of the Balātkāra *gaṇa,* a great ascetic, and one who received reverence from Sikandara Suritrāṇa. He defeated great speakers in the assembly of Virūpākṣa Rāya, the ruler of Vidyānagara, for which he received a certificate of victory (*jayapatra*) which was regarded by the learned and even by kings to be an original *śāsana* of Sarasvatī. In the city of Devappa Daṇḍanātha called Āraga, he expounded the great Jina *dharma,* and won reverence even from the Brahmans.

The last named general was the son of the Vijayanagara viceroy Śrīgirinātha. Devappa Daṇḍanātha was the viceroy of Āraga from A.D. 1463 till at least A.D. 1468. The Vijayanagara ruler mentioned in the Padmāvatī *basti* record was no other than Virūpākṣa Rāya, who reigned from A.D. 1467 till A.D. 1478. And Sikandara Suritrāṇa in whose court Viśalakīrti defeated opponents was Sultan Sikandar Sūr, who ruled for a brief period in A.D. 1554. Viśalakīrti seems to have have lived to a ripe old age of eighty years.[2]

But Viśalakīrti's immediate disciple Vidyānanda, better known by his celebrated name of Vādi Vidyānanda, was the greatest figure in the history of Jainism in the Vijayanagara

1. Saletore, *K. H. R.* IV. pp. 77-86.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 79-81.

age. The Padmāvatī *basti* record contains a great many details about this remarkable Jaina teacher. He belonged to the Nandi *sangha* of the Koṇḍakundānvaya in which Koṇḍakunda himself, Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Vardhamāna, Vādirāja, and other illustrious *gurus* had shone.

His qualifications are enumerated thus :—" The impression of Vidyānanda-svāmi's irreproachable reasoning is ever pleasing to the minds of poets, appearing like Bāṇa's prose expressed poem." Then again, " Is it Vāṇi, or Caturānana, or is it Vācaspati, or else is it the glory of the learned, Sahasravadana, or is it Ananta himself ?—thus do the learned express their doubts in the assembly when Vidyānandamuni is making the *Buddheśabhavana-vyākhyāna.*" Further, Vidyānandāryya is victorious in the world, " the summit of *dharma.*" And, then, again, " Omniscient in the three *Āgamas,* adorned with the qualities of poetry, skilled in (making) many commentaries, a great gale to the cloud (opponent) speakers."[1]

Vādi Vidyānanda's achievements were many. In purely religious spheres, he performed great works of merit. In Kopaṇa and other *tīrthas* with immense wealth, by the rite of *dehājñā,* in order to gain reward of salvation, he held great festivals and distinguished himself. At the two feet of Gummaṭa in Belgoḷa, with affection he poured out like rain to the Jaina *sangha* a *mahākāla* of cloths, ornaments, gold, and silver. And to the *gaṇa munis* devoted to the discussion of the *Yogāgama* in Gērasoppe, he undertook with great eagerness the business of supporting as if he were the chief *guru,* and thereby distinguished himself.

His work in the field of learning was equally great and last-

1. *E. C.* VIII, Nr. 46, pp. 149-150.

ing. The same Padmāvatī *basti* record gives us many details of his success at the various provincial and imperial courts. In the assembly of the Nañjarāyapaṭṭana king, Nañja Deva, he completely stopped the breath of the great (Śaiva) teacher called Nandanamalli Bhaṭṭa, and won renown. Destroying the European faith at the court of the Agent of Śrīranganagara (*Śrīranganagara Kāryyana Pērangiya matamaṁ aḷidu*) in a learned assembly, he brought Śāradā into his power. Then, in the undisturbed court of the Sātavendra (or Śāntavendra), Rāja Kesarivikrama, he uttered a poem which was noised throughout the world. Moreover, in the assembly of the enlightened men who formed the court of the king Sālva Malli Rāya, he excused the language of those in authority. In the court of another ruler called Gurunṛpāla, which resembled an ear of the ocean-girdled earth, he composed an able Karnāṭaka work and gained fame. In the court of king Sāluva Deva Rāya, equal in good fortune to Vāsava (Indra), he was victorious in proving the doctrines of all the speakers to be false, and in pleasing that king. In the learned assembly of the Nagiri kingdom, he made the company of the learned to sip the immeasurable sweetness of the nectar of his speech. In the court of king Narasimha of Biḷige, who was courageous as Kalaśodbhava (Agastya), he elucidated the Jina *darśana.* In the court of the ruler of Kārkaḷanagara, the great king Bhairava, he expounded the most excellent Jina *dharma,* so as to attract the mind, and distinguished himself. And likewise in the assembly of the Bhavyajana of the town of Bidire, whose hearts were adorned with wisdom and pure character, he explained the established faith. Vādi Vidyānanda was worshipped with devotion by the king Sāluva Kṛṣṇa Deva, who was the sister's son of the king Deva Rāya, and the moon to the ocean Padmāmbā. And in the great imperial capital of Vijayanagara of Kṛṣṇa Deva

Rāya, the son of Sāluva Narasimha, he wiped out the company of speakers of other creeds by the power of his speech. There is another reference to the imperial capital in a later context, where it is said that in the court of Vidyānagarī of the victorious lord Kṛṣṇa Rāya, defeating the company of the learned, like a lion (overcoming) an elephant, with the talons of his just argument, and his lucid intelligence, Vidyānandamuni gained world-wide fame.

No Jaina *guru* in the Vijayanagara age had a more glorious list of achievements than Vādi Vidyānanda. We have shown elsewhere that the various rulers mentioned in this record were, indeed, historical personages; and that on the strength of this and other inscriptions, we could date the many triumphs of Vādi Vidyānanda between the years A.D. 1502 and A.D. 1530.[1]

What concerns us, in addition to the details relating to the remarkable personality of Vādi Vidyānanda, is the fact that the Padmāvatī *basti* record should mention the names of various provincial seats which were centres of Jaina learning. Some of them, it must be confessed, cannot be identified for want of definite data. But there cannot be any doubt that in addition to the courts of the Sāluva kings of Sangītapura, Deva Rāya, Sangi Rāya, and Kṛṣṇa Rāja, and those of Gērasoppe and Kārkaḷa, there were other courts as well where Jainism was honoured—that of the unidentified Śātavendra king Kesarivikrama, of the king Gurunṛpāla, and of the king Narasimha of Biḷige.

There is one statement in the above record which is of particular interest. It is that concerning Vādi Vidyānanda's success in Śrīranganagara (*i.e.*, Seringapatam). Here Vādi

1. See my paper entitled *Vādi Vidyānanda—a Renowned Jaina Guru* published in the *Jaina Antiquary*, IV, pp. 1-21.

Vidyānanda defeated a European champion of Christianity. We are in the dark as to the identity of the learned European who was thus vanquished; but there can hardly be any doubt as to this success of the great Jaina priest in that city. It is remarkable that Vādi Vidyānanda should have mastered the tenets of Christianity, and met and defeated an expounder of that faith in a viceregal city of Vijayanagara. With him we come to the climax in the history of Jaina theology and oratory, precisely at the same time we reach the zenith in the annals of the Vijayanagara Empire.

But Jaina genius had already expressed itself in other branches of knowledge. To literature and medicine its contribution was truly profound. For well nigh two centuries the Jainas had been driven into the background by the Vīra Śaivas who had dominated Kannaḍa literature. In spite of this the Jainas managed to come into light, and succeeded in adding quite a good deal to the wealth of the Kannaḍa language.

One of the earliest names we meet with in the Vijayanagara age is that of Bāhubali Paṇḍita, the disciple of Nayakīrtideva. This *guru*, as we have already seen, has been referred to in a record found in the Meleyūr Pārśvanātha *basadi*, Chāmarājanagara, and assigned to A.D. 1380. We said that this inscription calls him an emperor of all learning, and one who was proficient not only in astrology but in two languages.[1] We know that in Śaka 1274 (A.D. 1352) he wrote the *Dharmanāthapurāṇa* concerning the fifteenth Tīrthankara. He had the *biruda* of *Ubhaya-bhāṣā-cakravarti*,[2] obviously because of his proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa.

1. *E. C.* IV. Ch. 157, op. cit.
2. *Kavicarite*, I. pp. 414-415; II. pp. 35-36.

Near to him in time is to be placed Keśavavarṇī, who wrote a Kannaḍa *vṛtti* to the *Gommaṭasāra* in Śaka 1281 (A.D. 1359), at the command of Dharmabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka. He likewise wrote a *vṛtti* in Kannaḍa to *Amitagatiśrāvakācāra,* and a commentary in the same language to *Sāratraya.* It was for this that he received the title of *Sāratrayavedi.*[1]

To this age (*circa* A.D. 1365) belonged Abhinava Śrutamuni, who is credited with writing a Kannaḍa commentary on Mallisena's *Sajjanacittavallabha.*[2] Next to him we find Madhura (*circa* A.D. 1385). He belonged to the Vāji *vaṁśa,* and he was the author of *Dharmanāthapurāṇa,* and an *aṣṭaka* praising Gummaṭa. Since he had as one of his many *birudas* the one styled *Bhūnāthasthānacuḍāmaṇī,* it has been surmised that he was the court poet of king Harihara Rāya II (A.D. 1377—A.D. 1404).[3]

Towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. is to be placed Āyatavarmā, the author of the *Ratnakaraṇḍa* in Kannaḍa, describing the *ratnatraya* of the Jainas.[4] Candrakīrti, who wrote the *Paramāgamasāra,* and another author called Jinācārya, may also be assigned to the same age.[5]

In the first quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. there appears Bhāskara, a native of Penugoṇḍa. He was the son of Basavānka, and he belonged to the Viśvāmitra *gotra.* He wrote the *Jīvandharacarite* in Śaka 1345 (A.D. 1424). He tells us that he rendered into Kannaḍa the Sanskrit work of the same name which had been composed by Vādībhasimha,[6] who could have been no other than the

1. Kavicarite, I, pp. 415-416.
2. *Ibid,* I, pp. 422-443.
3. *Ibid,* I, pp. 427-433.
4. *Ibid,* I, pp. 440-441 ; II, pp. 38-39.
5. *Ibid,* I, pp. 442, 447 ; II, pp. 38-40.
6. *Ibid,* II, p. 47.

great *guru* Ajitasena Vādībhasimha.

Fifteen years later Kalyāṇakīrti came with his five works —*Jñānacandrābhyudaya, Kāmanakathe, Anuprekṣe, Jinastuti*, and *Tattvabhedāṣṭaka.* His *guru* was Lalitakīrti who belonged to the Dēśiya *gaṇa.* Kalyāṇakīrti informs us that he wrote the *Jñānancandrābhyudaya* in Śaka 1362 (A.D. 1439), and *Kāmanakathe* at the instance of king Pāṇḍya Rāya, the son of the Tuḷuva lord Bhairava, and the disciple of Lalitakīrti.[1] This Pāṇḍya Rāya, the son of king Bhairava, was no other than Vīra Pāṇḍya, who had caused the famous image of Gomaṭa to be constructed at Kārkaḷa.

All names of Jaina authors are put into the shade by Mallinātha Sūri Kolācala, the celebrated commentator of Kālidāsa's works. This learned man was one of the judical officers of Emperor Vīra Pratāpa Prauḍha Deva Rāya of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1419-A.D 1446). We prove this from Mallinātha Sūri's interesting work *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇava*, which was written under the orders of that monarch. The object of this work was to determine whether or not the words such as *Vaiśya, Nagara-Vaṇik, Vaṇija, Vāṇi, Vyāpāri, Ūruja, Tritīyajāti, Svajātiyabhedaja, Uttarāpathanagareśvardevatopāsaka*, etc., found in an inscription at Kañci, meant a Vaiśya as distinct from one who was styled a Komaṭi.[2] This official

1. Kavicarite, II, p. 84.
2. *M. A. R. for 1927*, p. 26 ; *399 of 1926* ; Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Skt. Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras*, XXI, pp. 8212-8215 where Mallinātha's family history is given by one of his descendants called Padayojana. See also K. P. Trivedi, *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*, Introduction, pp. XXIV-XXV, where Mallinātha is placed in the fifteenth century. (Bombay Skt Series. LVI, 1898) ; and also *Pratāparudrayo'sobhūṣaṇa*, Intr. pp. 1-2. (Baroda Or. Ser.) ; N. Venkataramaṇayya, *Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire*, pp. 181-182,

enquiry conducted in the reign of the Emperor Deva Rāya II, shows that the Vijayanagara Government bestowed the greatest care on minute social distinctions affecting the public life of its citizens; and that it entrusted such work to the most highly qualified and learned men in its service.

In the middle of the same century, we have Jinadevaṇṇa, who wrote *Śreṇikacarite* in A.D. 1444, and Vijayaṇṇa, who wrote *Dvādaśānuprekṣe*. The latter work was written at the command of the Honnabandi Deva Rāja, the king of the Belvuḷanāḍ in Kuntala. Vijayaṇṇa seems to have written his work in the Śāntinātha *basadi* of Vemmanabhāvi in the same *nāḍu*.[1]

Their contemporary was Vidyānanda, who is not to be confounded with the celebrated orator we have described above. Vidyānanda was the author of a Kannaḍa commentary on (his own) Sanskrit work called *Prāyascitta*. He was the son (? disciple) of Brahmasūri *alias* Bommarasa Upādhyāya, and probably a native of Kanakāgiri in Maleyūr. He mentions Vijayakīrti as the *guru* who taught him from his boyhood.[2]

where Dr. Ramanayya wrongly identifies the Vijayanagara ruler mentioned in Mallinātha's work with king Deva Rāya I. How he came to make the author of *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhārṇava* Mallinātha II cannot be understood. Neither how Dr. Ramanayya failed to refer to Dr. Shama Sastry's citation of Mallinātha and the latter's work in his *Mysore Archæological Report*. We may observe here that the name *Sūri* stamps Mallinātha as a Jaina, although his magnificent commentaries make him a most extraordinary Jaina with an uncommonly non-sectarian outlook. Evidently to Mallinātha *Sūri* Knowledge was the first concern, and Religion, the next.

1. *Kavicarite*, II, pp. 86-89.
2. *Ibid*, II, p. 96.

Another "son" of Bommarasa seems to have been Terakaṇāmbi Bommarasa, the author of *Sanatkumāracarite* and *Jīvandharacarite* (A.D. 1485). An interesting fact is mentioned by him in his works. This relates to Vādībhasimha Nemicandra, one of the *gurus* of his teacher's preceptor's *guru*. It is said that Nemicandra won a certificate of victory in the assembly of learned men in the court of the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Rāya II.[1]

About the year A.D. 1500 Koṭīśvara composed his *Jīvandharaśaṭpadi* at the orders of his royal master king Sangama of Sangītapura. Koṭīśvara came of a good stock. His father Tammaṇa Śeṭṭi was the general of the city of Baidūru (mod. Baindūru) in Tuḷuva, and his mother Rāmakka. And he was the son-in-law of Kāmaṇa Śeṭṭi, the royal merchant of the court of Sangītapura. His preceptor was Prabhācandra, the disciple of Paṇḍitayogi of Belgoḷa.[2] Two more Jaina writers may be assigned to the same age (A.D. 1500) —Yaśaḥkīrti, who wrote a commentary on *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya,* and who was the disciple of Lalitakīrti, and Śubhacandra, who wrote *Narapingaḷi.*[3]

More famous names appear in the sixteenth century A.D. In A.D. 1508 we have Mangarasa, who has already figured in connection with the history of the Cangāḷva kings in the Vijayanagara age.[4]

The celebrated Vādi Vidyānanda seems to have written a

1. Kavicarite, II, pp. 128-130.

2. *Ibid*, II, p. 145. The late Mr. Narasimhacarya wrote on the strength of an inscription found at Biḷige, that Śrutakīrti was the preceptor of king Sangama.

3. *Ibid*, II, p. 172.

4. *Ibid*, II, pp. 179-188, *op. cit.*

work in Kannaḍa called *Kāvyasāra*.[1]

Equally remarkable names from the point of view of Kannaḍa literature are those of Sālva and Doḍḍayya. The former was the author of *Bhārata*, *Śāradāvilāsa* and *Nemiśvaracarite*, and a work on medicine to be mentioned presently. He was the son of Dharmacandra, and the disciple of Śrutakīrti. His royal patron was the king Sālva Malla of the Nagirirājya. Both king Sālva Malla and his sister Maladevī's son by Śāntadaṇḍeśa, by name Sālva Deva, were the patrons at whose orders Sālva wrote the Kannaḍa *Bhārata*. From the works of Sālva we learn that his patron Sālva Malla had, among others, the following *birudas*—*Jinadharmadhvaja*, *Samyaktva-cuḍāmaṇī* and *Jinadēvarathayātrāprabhāvaka*.[2] As regards Doḍḍayya, we know that he belonged to the Ātreya *gotra*, and that his father was the learned nobleman Devappa, who was the best of the accountants at the court of the Cangāḷva king Virūparājendra of Piriyapaṭṭaṇa. Devappa himself was credited with proficiency in the exposition of the Jina *purāṇa*. Doḍḍayya's *guru* was Paṇḍitamuni. His only work was *Candraprabhacarite* dealing with the life of the eighth Tīrthankara Candraprabha.[3]

The well known city of Vēṇupura (Mūḍubidre) in Tuḷuva produced Ratnākaranandi, who is known by his great work *Trilokaśataka* comprising 10,000 verses, which he finished in nine months in the Śaka year 1479 (A.D. 1557). He wrote it at the command of his *mokṣa guru* Haṁsanātha. His other works were *Bharateśvaracarite* and an anthology of poems known as *Padajāti*, which latter composition has made him

1. Kavicarite, II, p. 229.
2. *Ibid*, II, p. 244.
3. *Ibid*, II, pp. 251-252.

famous in Kannaḍa literature.[1]

Another prominent writer connected with Muḍubidre was Nemaṇṇa, the disciple of Śīlabodhi. In A.D. 1559 he wrote *Jñānabhāskaracarite*. He took *dīkṣā* and joined the group of Śrāvakas who had renovated the Hiriya *basadi* at Mūḍubidre.[2]

The cordial relations which prevailed between the different communities under Vijayanagara, which we have already referred to above, are further seen in connection with the work of Bāhubali, who wrote the *Nāgakumāracarite* (*circa* A.D. 1560). In this work he tells the following—That the *guru* of Śringeri Narasimhayati, called also Narasimha Bhārati, was in the temple called Sarvatobhadra in that city ; and that the protector of this head of the Śringeri pontificate was the ruler of the south, *Arirāya-gaṇḍaradāvaṇi*, a devotee of Jina, Bhairavendra, ruling from his throne at Kelavane (Kervāśe ?).[3] Now we know from independent evidence that Narasimha Bhārati mentioned here was not the first of that name, who was the contemporary of the king Harihara Rāya II.[4] The Śringeri *guru* spoken of here must have been the second of that name, who was the contemporary of the Emperor Śrī Ranga Rāya, I. And, as regards Bhairavendra mentioned by Bāhubali, we may identify him with Bhairarasa Oḍeyar of Kārkaḷa. This supposition is based on the Harihara *maṭha* inscription dated A.D. 1573 which contains the interesting information that Bhairarasa, Narasimha Bhārati of Śringeri, the Emperor Śrī Ranga Rāya I, and Mādhava Sarasvatī, the head of the Hariharapura *maṭha*, were all

1. *Kavicarite*, II. pp. 276-280. Devacandra has some interesting details to give concerning him. *Ibid*, p. 276.
2. *Ibid*, II, p. 281.
3. *Ibid*, II, pp. 287-288.
4. *369 of 1927 ; M. A. R. for 1934*, pp. 116-126.

contemporaries.[1]

There are two more details concerning Bāhubali which may be noted. He relates that Lalitakīrti, while expounding the Jina *purāṇa* in the court of king Bhairavendra looked at him as if to enquire whether Bāhubali could not put into verse the Śrīpañcamī story. It was this which made Bāhubali write the story of *Nāgakumāra*.[2] The Jaina *guru* spoken of here is to be identified with his namesake who has already figured as the *vicārakartā* of the public charities at Hiriangaḍi in A.D. 1579 in the previous pages.

Another detail corroborates the statement we have made regarding Śringeri being a Jaina centre. At the end of his work Bāhubali prays that the god Brahmā on the Brahmā pillar in front of the Pārśvanātha *basadi* situated on the southern bank of the lake which lay near the hill Kundādri in Karnāṭaka, may protect it.[3] We know from the opening lines of his work that Śringeri itself was situated to the south of the hill Kundādri.[4] This statement referring to the Pārśvanātha *basadi* only confirms the epigraphic evidence we have cited above in regard to the Jaina influence at Śringeri in the sixteenth century. A.D.

Quite a number of Jaina literary men are met with in the last quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. Some are insignificant like Śrutakīrti, the author of *Vijayakumārīyacarite*, and the disciple of Akalanka *guru* of Kanakagiri.[5] But others were well known like Doḍḍaṇānka. This writer was the son of Beṭṭada Gummi Seṭṭi of Niṭṭūru. He wrote

1. *M. A. R. for 1932*, pp. 203-205.
2. Kavicarite, II, p. 288.
3. *Ibid*, II, p. 290.
4. *Ibid*, II, p. 287.
5. *Ibid*, II, p. 299.

Candraprabhaśaṭpadi in Śaka 1500 (A.D. 1578).[1]

What an abiding influence the efforts of the early Vijayanagara monarchs must have had in bringing the various communities on the platform of mutual goodwill and sympathy, and of especially inculcating the spirit of toleration in the minds of the Jainas and the Hindus, is seen from the writings of Padmarasa, the talented son of the scholar Padmaṇo-opādhyāya. Padmarasa wrote the *Śringārakathe* in the Candranātha *basadi* of Kelasūru *alias* Cchatratrayapura in Śaka 1521 (A.D. 1599). In this work Padmarasa, who was the disciple of Bhaṭṭākalanka, and who traced his descent from Brahmasūri Paṇḍita, who was well versed in the Jaina *śāstras*, logic, and grammar, praises Śiva, Pārvatī, and Gaṇeśa at the beginning of his work.[2] Evidently Padmarasa, like Mallinātha Sūri Kolācala, was an exceedingly broadminded and generous writer.

To the year A.D. 1600 may be assigned six authors—Vardhamāna, Haṁsarāja, Devottama, Pāyaṇavṛati, Śringārakavi, and Brahmakavi. The versatile Vardhamāna was the disciple of Davendrakīrti. He belonged to the lineage which had produced the celebrated Vādi Vidyānanda. It was he who composed the Pañcabasti record which we have utilized in connection with our remarks on many of the Jaina *gurus* of the mediæval times. The fact that this record contains verses in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa shows that Vardhamāna was well versed in both the languages.[3] Haṁsarāja was also called Śringārakavi, and his *guru* was also styled Devendrakirti, but probably hailing from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa.

1. Kavicarite, II, pp. 303-4 ; *M. A. R. for 1913-14*, p. 58.
2. Kavicarite, II, pp. 315-316.
3. *E. C.* IV, Nr. 36, pp.146-150 ; Kavicarite, II, pp. 316-317.

Haṁsarāja's work was called *Ratnākarādhīśvaraśataka* (*circa* A.D. 1600).[1] A grammarian and a lexicographer, Devottama wrote the *Nānārtharatnākara* assigned to *circa* A.D. 1600.[2] Another lexicographer was his contemporary Śringārakavi, the author of the *Karnāṭaka Sanjīvana*.[3]

It was asserted in the last chapter that Penugoṇḍa was a centre of the Bhavyas. The life of Pāyaṇavṛati, also called Pārśvavarṇī, bears this out. This writer hailed from Nandiyapura near Penugoṇḍa. He started life as a teacher of the Jina *dharma* to the Bhavyas. From his childhood he showed signs of being a clever poet ; and in his fifty-fifth year he took *dīkṣā* at the hands of Lakṣmīsenamuni of the Sena *gaṇa* in the Pārśvanātha *basadi* of Penugoṇḍa. It was because of this that he was called Pārśvavarṇī. His work is styled *Saṁyaktvakaumudī*.[4] Brahmakavi is remembered only because of his *Vajrakumāracarite*.[5]

That Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa contained, indeed, a Jaina temple is proved by the life of Pāyaṇamuni, who wrote the *Sanatkumāracarite* in the Ādi Jineśa *basadi* of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa in about A.D. 1606.[6]

With him were other well known Jaina writers of the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. The most important among them was Pañcabāṇa. It is interesting to note that his *guru* was the Sthānika Cannapayya. Pañcabāṇa was a

1. Kavicarite, II, pp. 328-329.
2. *Ibid*, II, pp. 330-331.
3. *Ibid*, II, pp. 338-339. Śāntarasa, who wrote the *Yogaratnākara*, also belonged to the same age. But nothing is known of him. *Ibid*., p. 340.
4. *Ibid*, II, pp. 332-333.
5. *Ibid*, II, p. 341.
6. *Ibid*, II, p. 352.

native of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa ; and in his work *Bhujabalcarite* (A.D. 1614) he tells us that the famous head anointing ceremony of Gommaṭanātha was performed in A.D. 1612.[1]

And the head-anointing ceremony of the other famous statue of Gommaṭa of Kārkaḷa was performed by the king Immaḍi Bhairavendra of Kārkaḷa in A.D. 1646. This we gather from Candrama's *Kārkaḷa Gommaṭeśvaracarite,* which was written at the command of Lalitakīrti and under the patronage of the same ruler Bhairavendra.[2]

One of the last Jaina literary writers who falls within the limits of our study is Devarasa (*circa* A.D. 1650). In his *Gurudattacarite* he tells us that near the town of Pūgataṭāka in Karnāṭaka, was a hill which contained the *basadi* of Pārśvajina. On this hill, the author narrates, the famous Jina sage Pūjyapada has conducted experiments in alchemy (Siddharasa).[3]

The Jainas have written not only on purely literary and theological subjects but also on those pertaining to medicine. The Vijayanagara age, it may be observed here, contained quite a number of clever physicians—both Brahman and Jaina—who have been noticed in literature and records. A peculiarity of the Jainas is that they have left evidence of their knowledge of medicine in literary works. In the early Vijayanagara period the most well known

1. *Kavicarite,* II. pp. 351-359.
2. *Ibid,* II. pp. 371-372.
3. *Ibid,* II. pp. 391-392. Pāyaṇavarṇī, the disciple of Paṇḍitācārya and a native of Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, composed in Kannaḍa in A.D. 1659 *Jñānacandracarite.* This story, according to the author, was originally written in Prākṛit by Vāsavacandra, and subsequently rendered into Kannaḍa *śaṭpadi* by Pūjyapadayogi, and Pāyaṇavarṇī wrote in the *sāngatya* metre basing it on the *śaṭpadi* work. *M. A. R.* for 1919, p. 53.

Jaina author was Mangarāja I (*circa* A.D. 1360). He was the official placed over the city of Muguḷi which was the capital of Devaḷige in the Hoysala kingdom. His *guru* was Pūjyapādamuni, who may have been the same scholar who rendered into Kannaḍa Vāsavacandra's work in Prakrit. Whatever that may be, Mangarāja I's great work was called *Khagendramaṇidarpaṇa.* He was awarded quite a number of titles among which were the following—*Akhilavidyājalanidhi, Sāhityavaidyāmbunidhi,* and *Bhiṣagvaratilaka.* His work deals with poisons, and he tells us that he has utilized Pūjyapāda's celebrated work on medicine, while delineating the portion on the conduct of a thousand immoveable kinds of poisons.[1]

From Mangarāja I to the next Jaina writer on medicine Śrīdharadeva (*circa* A.D. 1500) is, indeed, a wide gap which cannot be easily explained. Śrīdharadeva's work was called *Vaidyāmṛta* which was written at the instance of Municandra.[2]

Bācarasa was another Jaina author on medicine. He too belonged to the same age. He was the son of Cāmuṇḍarāya, and was known as *Sujanaikabāndhava.* His work was known as *Aśvavaidya* (*circa* A.D. 1500), which deals with all details concerning horses and their ailments.[3]

The author of the famous *Bhārata* mentioned above, Sālva, is also noted for his work called *Vaidyasāngatya.*[4]

Padmaṇa Paṇḍita, the son of Deparasa of Kanakapura, seems to have followed the lead of Bācarasa. For Padmarasa wrote in A.D. 1627 *Hayasārasamuccaya* dealing mi-

1. *Kavicarite,* I. pp. 417-422.
2. *Ibid,* II. p. 166.
3. *Ibid,* II. p. 171.
4. *Ibid,* II. p. 250.

nutely with the forms, kinds, ailments, etc., of horses. This work was written at the command of Cāmarāja, the king of Mysore, and is therefore, also known as *Cāmarājīya.*[1] With him the long list of eminent Jaina writers who have contributed to literature and science is brought to an end, at least so for as the Vijayanagara age is concerned.

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1. *Kavicarite* II, pp. 368-369.

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